



THE INDEPENDENT

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Manchester: a city divided

Joy for United - but tears for City

Nannies? No thanks, we're fine as we are

Families who learned to be good neighbours

Anglican by day, Catholic by night

The holy battle for a London church



UN soldier's video reveals reconnaissance plane was over Qana as shelling killed 100 refugees

Massacre film puts Israel in dock

EXCLUSIVE
ROBERT FISK

A dramatic amateur videotape of the Israeli shelling of the United Nations base at Qana last month, in which more than 100 Lebanese civilians were massacred, has convinced United Nations investigators that the Israelis deliberately targeted the UN compound and were well aware that it was packed with refugees when they fired at it.

of the shelling on 18 April. Senior Israeli officers have repeatedly denied to the UN that they were using a low-flying drone at the time, but the tape provides incontrovertible evidence that these statements were untrue.

massacre - on 16 April - they saw "no sign of civilians". A UN source in southern Lebanon last night ridiculed the Israeli statement. "The UN camp has been in Qana for 18 years. They have pictures of every village in southern Lebanon and know who lives in every house there. Once again, the Israelis are insulting our intelligence. They had been flying drones over Qana for a week before the massacre. And even if they thought there were no civilians in the camp - which we had told them there were - does that mean they thought it was legitimate to shell a UN military headquarters?"

The damning evidence, pages 8,9



"Now they are saying there was a drone over a different mission. They have a duty to explain what that mission was - otherwise we are standing by the evidence of the eyewitnesses

monoplane, which takes television pictures of the ground, can be seen flying low over Qana as shells fall on to the UN's Fijian battalion headquarters. The tape was made by a UN soldier a mile from Qana. By chance, he was carrying his video camera when the Israeli bombardment began. His remarkable filmed evidence - of which the Israelis were unaware at the time - now forms the focus of the still secret UN report prepared for Boutros Boutros Ghali, the UN Secretary-General, by Dutch marine General Fraok van Kappen who visited the site of the massacre and completed his interviews with both UN and Israeli soldiers on 26 April.

written by a serving British Army officer, Colonel Geoffrey Dodds, who accompanied General van Kappen to Lebanon, and who - like the general - concluded that the Israeli explanations of the shelling were untrue. Colonel Dodds, a Royal Engineer, works in the general's office in New York.

American-made howitzers fired "in error" on the refugees under UN protection at Qana while trying to target the source of nearby Hizbollah rockets. General van Kappen's report acknowledges that the Hizbollah men who fired two rockets from near the UN base later ran unarmed into the compound but states that the Israeli shelling represented not an error but a deliberate change of trajectory which aimed the Israeli shells at the refugee-packed compound. UN investigators did not find a single Israeli shell impact at the site in a cemetery south-west of the compound from where the rockets were fired.

Blair rift over child benefit cut

DONALD MACINTYRE
Political Editor

Tony Blair is facing a shadow cabinet split over the controversial idea of withholding child benefit from parents of children still at school and in further education.

Mr Blair and Gordon Brown, the shadow Chancellor, are anxious to see the proposal canvassed as one of the "tough choices" both have warned the party it will have to face between now and the election. But the social security team, led by Chris Smith, is known to have grave doubts about the idea.

That emerged yesterday amid clear expectations that Labour is preparing to reject plans canvassed by the Social Justice Commission for taxing the £6bn benefit for parents of all age groups because such a move would face virtually insurmountable practical and political problems.

Senior Labour figures have already made it clear that the controversial idea of removing child benefit from the parents of up to a million children who stay on in school was officially only one of a number of options that could be used to shake up the funding of post-16 education and training.

for Labour. That leaves only two other possibilities - taxing child benefit for upper income groups and removing it from parents of children of 16 and over. Mr Smith's team, with Mr Brown's probable approval, is expected to rule out the former on the grounds that it is a benefit paid directly to mothers, many of whom pay little or no tax in their own right.

If the tax was to be taken from couples it could cut directly across the principle of independent taxation for men and women.

The argument in favour of the latter is that post-16 child benefit is already not universal since it is not paid to parents of young people in work.

Moreover it goes to some of the richest couples in the country who may, for example, be educating their children privately.



Cup that cheers: Manchester United players show off the Premiership trophy to their jubilant fans after clinching the title with a comprehensive 3-0 win at Middlesbrough yesterday

Manchester united in joy and sorrow

PAUL NEWMAN

The football season was always going to end yesterday in tears of both joy and sorrow, but the great sporting city of Manchester could hardly have experienced such a day of mixed emotions in its history.

year were 12 points clear at the top of the Premiership table, could not even muster the win that was their only hope, drawing 1-1 with Tottenham Hotspur. As if Newcastle's misery was not enough, one of United's goals was scored by Andy Cole, a former Tyneside hero.

While the red half of the city celebrated Manchester United's third Premiership title in four years, those of the light blue persuasion despaired as Manchester City were relegated.

City have been the second team in Manchester for longer than their fans care to remember and yesterday they suffered the ultimate humiliation. Despite recovering from a 2-0 deficit at half-time, a 2-2 draw at home to Liverpool was not enough to save them from relegation to the First Division.

A 3-0 victory at Middlesbrough meant that the title was theirs, no matter what the result a few miles up the road at Newcastle United. In the end Newcastle, who at one stage this

Southampton, Coventry City and Sheffield Wednesday, who had been the other candidates for the drop, all drew and lived to fight another Premiership day.

IN BRIEF

Mother's hope
The foster mother of a 10-year-old Zulu boy who was flown to South Africa after a bitter custody struggle, is confident he will soon be back with her in England. Page 3

BSE contamination
Contaminated pig and poultry feed could be to blame for some recent cases of BSE, it was claimed yesterday. Page 2

Today's weather
Sunshine, breezes and some showers. Section Two, page 20

Lawyers 'sentenced to a life of misery'

REBECCA FOWLER

They are viewed as the slickest of professionals, piranhas in suits who drive smart cars and stop at nothing for their careers. But the nation's lawyers say the reality is a grim contrast, and they are so persecuted and disillusioned that most of them are looking for new jobs.

they are victims of intolerable stress and bullying in the work place; their personal lives are in tatters; and 8 out of 10 of them are looking for new jobs.

Mary Heaney, editor of *Lawyer*, said: "The findings reveal a disgruntled, demoralised profession. It is a stark warning that the legal profession must adapt to cater from pressures from within and outside the profession."

The survey revealed that a third of all solicitors reported encounters of bullying by senior figures; 9 out of 10 are suffering from stress; a quarter of the solicitors were prevented from taking their holiday entitlement; and 85 per cent said their profession had declined in the public eye.

Despite their ruthless image, lawyers are concerned by the low esteem in which they are held by the public.

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news

Cross-contamination fear in BSE crisis

PAUL FIELD

Contaminated pig and poultry feed could be responsible for some of the recent cases of BSE, it was claimed yesterday.

The shadow Agriculture Minister, Gavin Strang, claimed that some animal-feed manufacturers may have used the same equipment to mix both cattle feed and pig feed. Until March, the latter was allowed to include bovine offals, banned in cattle feed since 1988.

Dr Strang said it may be one of the reasons why a total of 27,000 cattle born since 1988

have contracted the disease. "The animal-feed manufacturers may have mixed the two by accident," he told the *Independent*.

The disclosure came as the £550m scheme to rid the food chain of cattle over 30 months old still showed no signs of getting under way. And Michael Heseltine, Deputy Prime Minister, said publicly for the first time that the beef crisis was "and still remains the most difficult political issue I have ever seen a government face".

Dr Strang, who is calling for an inquiry into whether cattle

have been given contaminated food, said he was concerned that two-thirds of BSE cases reported in the first three months of this year involved cows born since the ban. "Everyone accepts that the feed is the major cause, if not the only cause. We have really got to get to the bottom of this," he said.

However, the Ministry of Agriculture warned that his remarks were irresponsible and insisted that every measure was being taken to ensure feed was free of contamination.

The controversy stems from the measures introduced in

1988 to keep specified bovine offals out of the food chain. Animal-feed manufacturers were banned from boiling down offals into protein for cattle feed. However, there was no restriction on their use in pig and poultry feed, which is often produced at the same plants as cattle feed, and farmers were not prevented from giving their remaining stock to their cattle.

It was not until 28 March this year that manufacturers were prohibited from using any mammalian meat or bonemeal in any feed for farm animals. The use of feed containing the

products was then banned with effect from 4 April.

The concern now is that farmers have unwittingly given contaminated feed to their livestock because the same mixers may have been used for pig feed as well as cattle feed, although manufacturers are supposed to wash down the mixers between each production run under Ministry of Agriculture rules.

NFU president Sir David Naish admitted: "These animals born after the ban have nearly without doubt been exposed to contaminated feed. If a tiny bit of the original contaminated

material had remained in those mixers that could well have been where the contamination came from. That is not allowed any more, nor should it be."

Tony Baldry, Minister of State at the Agriculture Department, accused Dr Strang of hyping the issue. "I am not sure that anything Gavin has asked for is actually going to add to our total knowledge on this issue."

Meanwhile, EU agriculture ministers meeting in southern Italy last night feared that talks on how free-trade pacts could ruin EU farmers would be overshadowed by the beef crisis.

The Agriculture Minister, Douglas Hogg, is likely to lobby discreetly for a lifting of the worldwide ban imposed on British beef exports, even though it is not on the agenda.

On Tuesday, Mr Baldry is due to meet representatives from all sectors of the beef industry in a bid to break the deadlock in the scheme aimed at disposing of cattle over 30 months old.

Apart from 100 cattle slaughtered in Scotland on Friday, there are no signs that the cull has got under way, despite Government assurances that it has.

IN BRIEF

Newbury by-pass benefits 'shortlived'

The benefits of the controversial £100m Newbury by-pass will be wiped out within a decade, according to a leaked county council document.

The by-pass is being built to take pressure off the A34, but Friends of the Earth has obtained a Newbury Transport Strategy document due to be published next week by Berkshire County Council. According to FoE, the document says that even with traffic management schemes put in place "traffic conditions on the existing A34 in 2006 would return to the current position".

Glider pair's escape

An instructor and his student escaped injury yesterday after their glider was struck by a single-engine plane which plunged nose-first into a field, killing the pilot. The unnamed pair kept control of the glider and landed close to the village of Westcott, near Aylesbury, Bucks. The Civil Aviation Authority is investigating.

Tunnel heroin haul

Customs officers have made their first significant haul of heroin in the Channel Tunnel after seizing £2m worth of drugs. A 75-year-old man and a 48-year-old woman were last night being questioned following a routine search of a van towing a caravan.

The penny drops

Doctors who could not explain why a toddler was suffering breathing problems found a one penny coin stuck in his throat. Cameron Wells, from Hartlepool, was taken to hospital in Newcastle-upon-Tyne due to his wheezing and weight loss and is now recovering after an emergency operation. The coin is thought to have been stuck for up to three months.

Sea search ends

Rescue teams have called off their search for a 13-year-old boy who was washed out to sea from a slipway at Whitby, north Yorkshire, on the weekend. The teenager was playing with two other local boys when high waves engulfed him and a friend. The other boy, also 13, was found by coastguards suffering from hypothermia.

Ex-Speaker 'stable'

Lord Tynan, ex-Speaker of the Commons, was said to be in a stable condition after spending another night in hospital. The 87-year-old peer - formerly the Labour MP George Thomas - was admitted several days ago to St Thomas's Hospital, London. Details of his illness have not been released.

'Poison' charge

A 35-year-old woman will appear before a special court in Banbury, Oxfordshire, today charged with administering a noxious substance to an elderly man who was found dead on Friday. Police found the body of the unnamed man in a house in the town and a Home Office forensic pathologist carried out a post-mortem and took specimens. The cause of death has not been disclosed.

Death mystery

Police are treating as "suspicious" the death of a 29-year-old physically disabled woman who is believed to have lain dead for three days in her bedroom at her parents' home. The body of Karen Morgan was found on Friday at the family home in Erith, south-east London, after her brother took a suspected drug overdose. Karen had not been seen by friends or neighbours for 16 years after becoming cut off from the outside world, it was reported yesterday.

Fold routine

A police force is to add folding bicycles to its range of crime-fighting equipment. Dorset Police will conduct trials using two of the portable pursuit machines, which fold in half and can be stored police car boots.

£10.9m payouts

Two tickets hold the key to the £21.8 million rollover jackpot payout in Saturday's National Lottery. Each ticket holder can expect to collect £10.9 million for matching the numbers 6, 25, 26, 33, 34 and 47, plus the bonus ball 49.

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Tory rift on Europe set to widen

DONALD MACINTYRE
Political Editor

Urgent Cabinet efforts to reunite a battered Tory party were coming under immediate strain last night with strong signs that the party's right wing had no intention of moderating its pressure on John Major to toughen his line on Europe.

Leading sceptic John Redwood prepared to launch a populist "manifesto" this week, and John Townend, chairman of the Thatcherite 92 Group, and one of Mr Redwood's most prominent supporters in last year's leadership challenge, repeated his calls for tough retaliatory measures against the European Union on beef.

And as Michael Heseltine, the Deputy Prime Minister, warned that it would be "lunacy" for divisive behaviour by Euro-sceptics to put Tony Blair into power, Sir Marcus Fox, chairman of the backbench 1922 Committee, appeared to join the fray by complaining that some MPs "were so pro-European it's unbelievable".

Apparently casting himself as a candid friend to the Prime Minister, Sir Marcus publicly advised John Major to "elevate" national Euro-scepticism and "bludgeon" "Whatever he can do there to bring the EU to its senses, the more thanks he will get and votes," he told Sky TV's *Sunday Programme*.

Although broadly right wing in tone, Mr Redwood's proposals for policy shifts to max-

imise support in the run-up to the election will also contain a call to underpin clinical care in the NHS and bail out closures. A 30,000-word document called *Action Not Words*, will give substance to the policies Mr Redwood is urging Mr Major to adopt on the health service, taxation and Europe. "It is not lurching to the right but getting it right," the paper says.

On the NHS, the paper will urge Stephen Dorrell, the Secretary of State for Health, to "stop the administrative rot", championing Mr Redwood's anti-bureaucracy message.

On taxation, it will assert that low taxation is a "moral crusade" and attempt to reconnect low taxes with "freedom" - a traditional Conservative value.

But, on the most divisive issue of Europe, it repeats some of the Euro-sceptics' most inflammatory language, describing Spanish fishing of British quotas as "piracy on the high seas", and promoting the proposals for reforming the European Court of Justice which prompted 66 Tory MPs to rebel in the Commons last month.

The developments came as Tony Blair issued an appeal to moderate Tories to back an incoming Labour government. "I think it will be very difficult for many... Conservatives, to be virulently opposed to a Labour government when in actual fact they've probably got a lot more in common with us than with those who have taken over their own party," he told a Sunday newspaper.

Nine O'Clock church gets new chaplain

A new chaplain has been appointed to the former members of the scandal-hit Nine O'Clock service in Sheffield.

The Rev Philip Allin, 52, a trained marriage guidance counsellor and former schools chaplain, will have to help a community which discovered that its charismatic former leader, Chris Brain, had exploited up to 40 female members for sexual gratification.

Mr Brain resigned his priesthood and went to America in search of a career as a rock musician. A core of about 25 members remain of what was once

the Church of England's most hopeful liturgical experiment; most of the members of the community seem to have abandoned Christianity altogether.

The Nine O'Clock Service pioneered the use of rave music and theatre as a way of presenting the Gospel. Originating from fundamentalist roots in an evangelical church run by the Rev Robert Warren, now the Church of England's National Officer for Evangelism, the group was widely criticised for behaving more like a rock band than a Christian community, but it was also widely imitated.



New world order: Squatters on the site in Wandsworth where they plan to build a village to demonstrate green urban living. Photograph: Philip Meech

Green group seizes prime land by Thames

NICHOLAS SCHOON
Environment Correspondent

The Land Is Ours, a new direct action group, yesterday seized 13 prime Thameside acres near the heart of London and set about creating a village to demonstrate green urban living.

Several hundred squatters arrived by chartered coach and invaded the site of a demolished gin distillery and oil depot in the Conservative flagship borough of Wandsworth. The site has been left flat and derelict, awaiting the end of the property slump, for seven years.

"The land owner and the developers have had their chance

and they've blown it," declared author and campaigner George Monbiot, one of the leaders of the action group. "Now it's our turn. The market isn't delivering the sort of development people need."

Within a few hours of sawing through the big metal gates of the site, bunders and tents had sprung up, permaculture gardens were being dug and paths had been laid out through the rubble, weeds and eight-foot tall buddleia shrubs.

A prefabricated toilet block which will drain directly into the soil had been put up near the almost-finished luxury flats bordering one side of the site.

Prices there start at £190,000 for a two bedroom apartment.

"We want to highlight the desperate need to make good use of the derelict sites in Britain's cities," says the campaign's leaflet, distributed to bemused local residents, many of whom are council tenants. But landowners Guinness are more interested in the kind of development which fulfils the multi-million potential of this site with its 300 yards of river frontage.

Wandsworth Borough Council's planning brief for the site opposes offices and workshops, luxury flats and some housing for low income families. A supermarket chain has twice applied to build a superstore on the site and been turned down.

Most of the mainly young and hugely idealistic squatters plan to stay for a week at most, but some hope to stay indefinitely. Yesterday the police quickly decided it was a civil matter, leaving it to Guinness to evict the urban villagers.

One of the largest new buildings put up on the site yesterday was a geodesic dome made of plastic barriers taken from roadworks. That seemed appropriate, given that cars are banned and several of the squatters are veteran road protesters. One of the lead organisers of the occupation is a civil

engineer with Wandsworth Borough; he did not want his name mentioned.

Today several tons of compost will be arriving by lorry to supplement the weedy rubble in which crops will be planted. The public will be welcomed in to listen to bands (acoustic only) and to attend workshops on subjects including the healing arts, squatting and being a claimant.

The Land Is Ours say self-help, DIY and community involvement can serve the people much better than council planners and profit-seeking landowners and developers. "Within a week this can be a beautiful place," one of them said.

Huge review of forces to rewrite military theory

CHRIS BELLAMY
Defence Correspondent

The most fundamental and comprehensive review ever into the way the British armed forces will operate in future wars or operations short of war is now under way and is expected to report in November.

The Joint Operational Doctrine Study is expected to reappraise the nature of future war and to reinforce the widespread view that heavy, armoured tank forces are largely obsolete. Instead, the future armed forces of Britain and its Nato and European allies will have to get into position very fast and rely on air, space and electronic technology to create the conditions in which very small forces in the "contact battle" will

engage any opponent under the most favourable circumstances. That will minimise the need, according to senior defence experts yesterday, for what Clausewitz likened to a "cash transaction" in the banking system - bloody armed combat.

The study is being masterminded by three senior officers - the Army's doctrine chief, Lt Gen Sir Thomas Boyd-Carter, and equivalent "three-star" officers from the Navy and Air Force.

A new doctrine think tank was set up at Upavon, Wiltshire, in 1993 and has taken the lead in trying to educate the British forces out of their traditional distrust of military doctrine and theory.

Since the publication of *De-*

sign for Military Operations, the British Army's first official military doctrine, in 1989, the need for a fundamental understanding of what armed forces are trying to do has become more deep-rooted.

The MoD said yesterday that the study will be submitted to Air Chief Marshal Sir John Willis, the Vice-Chief of the Defence Staff.

Since the end of the Cold War, the preoccupation of British and Nato forces with heavy land armies - known, contemptuously in some circles, as "pig-iron war" on the European continent - has been superseded by the realisation that in future conflict it will be necessary to deploy air, electronic and naval forces and intelligence as soon as possible.

MPs to support forces' gay ban

An influential committee of MPs is expected to deal a serious blow to gay-rights campaigners' hopes of lifting the ban on homosexuals in the armed forces this week.

It is understood that the cross-party select committee reviewing the Armed Forces Bill will back the Government's controversial decision to maintain the ban on gays serving in the military.

The recommendation in the report, published tomorrow, is certain to provoke protest among gay activists.

They are confident the Government will be forced by the courts to follow the practice of most Nato countries and lift the ban.

Four gay ex-service people - former naval officer Duncan Lustig-Prem, ex-RAF Sergeant Graeme Grady, ex-RAF nurse

Jeannette Smith and former navy weapons engineer John Beckett are to apply for leave to go to the House of Lords.

If they fail in their bid, they will go immediately to the European Commission of Human Rights. But the Ministry of Defence believes it stands a good chance of winning.

Ministers emphasise the issue of homosexuals serving in the military concerns the viability of Britain's armed forces.

The military is concerned that allowing gays to serve would affect the forces' "cohesion, morale and effectiveness".

The select committee took evidence in a lengthy public hearing on homosexuality in March from the leading gay rights group Stonewall and Rank Outsiders, the group formed to promote the interests of gay servicemen and women.

Four die in 'grudge blaze'

WILL BENNETT

Detectives believe that a house fire in which four young brothers and sisters died in Southampton early yesterday was probably started deliberately by someone with a grudge against the family.

Terry Good, 12, his sisters Alison, 10, and Nicola, 8, and their brother Patrick, 6, were found huddled together in a first-floor bedroom at the family's home in the Sholing area. Neighbours had earlier heard them screaming "Mummy, Daddy, help us please."

Their sister, Kelly, 14, was badly burnt but is in a stable condition in hospital. She and her parents, Melvin and Bev, escaped from the house and neighbours stopped Mr Good, a building worker, from going back into the flames in a rescue attempt that would have cost him his life.

People living on the Southampton council estate said yesterday that the family had been threatened in recent weeks and one spoke of a group of youths standing near the blazing house shaking their fists and shouting "burn you bastards, burn". Police refused to confirm the reports but Detec-

tive Superintendent Peter Neyroud said: "We have launched a major inquiry. At present the fire is being treated as suspicious until our investigations can confirm or deny this."

He said he wanted to hear from anyone who saw a vehicle pulling up near the house between midnight and 2am yesterday morning or witnesses who saw anybody going to or from the house at that time.

He added: "This is an appalling incident which cuts short the lives of four young people. A fifth youngster is severely injured and the remainder of the family are traumatised."



Nicola Good: huddled together



Alison Good: heard screaming

Dixons i
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Daughter of
chief dies at

Love-tug case: English foster mother hopeful of child's return as full details of fight for custody are revealed

'My Zulu boy was legally abducted'

WILL BENNETT

The foster mother of Sifiso Mahlangu, the 10-year-old Zulu boy who was flown to South Africa on Saturday after a bitter custody struggle, said yesterday that she was confident he would soon be back with her in England.

As a sad-looking Sifiso arrived at his natural parents' house near Brakpan, east of Johannesburg, Salome Stopford revealed a verbal promise given to her by his father Charles Mahlangu and called the decision to hand him over "legal child abduction".

"I have been given an undertaking by his father on the phone, and it was on an open phone to all the solicitors, that if he was not happy then he would be returned in six months time," said Mrs Stopford at her London home yesterday.

Asked if that gave her hope Sifiso would return, she replied: "Oh yes, absolutely." Ironically, Mrs Stopford, 50, was only able to speak publicly yesterday about her fight to bring Sifiso up because once he had left Britain a court order restricting publicity ceased to be effective.

Sitting in the front room of her flat in Maida Vale, north-west London, with her two daughters Natalie and Simone and family friends, some of them weeping, she said that no parental love could be stronger than that she feels for Sifiso.

She said: "I don't think parents come into the issue here because a 10-year-old boy who has lived his conscious life with us as a family has been wrenched away from us and put with people who are now strangers to him. I think that the voice of the child is paramount."

Mrs Stopford, British but of Afrikaner origins, has waged a long legal battle for custody of Sifiso who is the son of her former maid Selina Mahlangu. She brought up the boy in her family and, with his parents' permission, he came with her to England when she moved to London four years ago after the death of her husband.

Sifiso calls Mrs Stopford "mummy", speaks English not Zulu and recently won a scholarship to a British public school. He has said throughout the legal battle for his custody that he does not want to return to live in the Transvaal but in March the Court of Appeal ruled that he should live in South Africa.

On Friday Lord Justice Neill and Ward rejected a direct request from the President of the European Commission on Human Rights for Sifiso's departure from Britain to be delayed until the commission considers the case next week.

Mrs Stopford said yesterday: "It has been like a roller coaster ride. We were up one minute and down the next. I was very disappointed that they did not listen to the European courts which are reviewing the

case. They should have given him a week's stay until after the hearing. I think it was barbaric. I really do."

She last saw him on Friday night when she left him at the Solicitor General's office. She said: "The last thing I said to him was 'be strong. The last thing he said to me was 'I love you mummy'".



Missing person: Salome Stopford in her foster son's bedroom at their home in north London, above, and a school picture of Sifiso, right

Photograph: Karpesh Lathiga

him was 'be strong, you are a Stopford'. The last thing he said to me was 'I love you mummy'." Attempts to put the boy on an airplane on Friday were abandoned because of his distress.

On Saturday night the boy was 'be strong, you are a Stopford'. The last thing he said to me was 'I love you mummy'." Attempts to put the boy on an airplane on Friday were abandoned because of his distress.

On Saturday night the boy was 'be strong, you are a Stopford'. The last thing he said to me was 'I love you mummy'." Attempts to put the boy on an airplane on Friday were abandoned because of his distress.

It is thought Sifiso and his natural mother had spent the day at a hotel as she tried to calm him sufficiently to get on the jet. Mrs Stopford said she had tried to see the boy at the airport after he phoned her in distress, but was blocked by security men.

"Special branch people put him on the plane - it's almost like a legal child abduction," she said. "I couldn't stand up against those men - they were enormous - this child would have been intimidated."

Speaking calmly she made it clear that her efforts to get Sifiso back will go on. She said: "We will follow all avenues until this child tells us to stop fighting for him. I just think we should all work together for this boy, we should put all our

grievances aside. I feel that he has been used as a political football. If this boy was white or I was black I don't think that there would have been a problem at all."

His room in the flat in Maida Vale is ready for him to return. Although many of his toys went with him to South Africa, his television and video games are still in London, together with his pet hamster, a large teddy bear and a poster of his hero Spiderman on the wall.

Mrs Stopford spent yesterday trying to telephone Sifiso without joy. The boy looked miserable when he arrived at the Mahlangu's home after the flight with his beaming father. When the latter was asked how he felt, he replied: "Look what is on my face."



Dixons investigated over second-hand goods claim

GLENDA COOPER

Consumers were warned yesterday to be alert for second-hand electrical goods sold as new after it emerged that a major High Street chain has been investigated by more than two-thirds of trading standards offices in England.

Dixons, which also trades as Currys, has been investigated by more than 22 out of 30 county trading standards offices according to a survey in a Sunday newspaper.

It found that in the previous two years 13 counties had prosecuted the company and five had issued formal cautions. Another 12 were contemplating prosecution.

The Trades Descriptions Act and the Sale of Goods Act both say that goods have to be as described. Therefore for a product to be called "new"

there should have been no transfer to anyone else between the shop and the purchaser. "Even if something is bought and then brought back the next day it is still second-hand," said a spokeswoman for the Department of Trade and Industry.

Many used goods, which have been estimated as 1 per cent of the company's stock, have been correctly labelled and discounted but some local trading standards officers have reported second-hand goods bought as new.

Surrey successfully prosecuted Dixons for selling a video recorder as new when it had been returned as faulty.

The customer discovered the previous owner's TV licence when it fell out of the instruction book.

The company was also fined last month when Kazimierz Trehan from Slough found personal data including private telephone numbers stored on her computer by the previous owner.

A spokesman for the Consumers' Association said: "It should be very clear what consumers are buying and that they are not being misled. People will assume that goods are being sold for the first time unless they are told otherwise."

But a spokesman for Dixons said the company had a strict procedure to guard against returned goods being mistaken for new ones.

"Our policy is that second hand goods are clearly marked as such," he said. "We have over 800 stores, 10,000 employees and 20 to 25 million transactions each year."

"We're talking about successful prosecutions in single figures. It's a very small amount and we're constantly reviewing our policy."

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Daughter of police chief dies at party

A policeman's daughter died yesterday at an all-night party where tablets were handed out among the guests.

Claire Pierce, 20, was found dead on a settee at a house in Meden Vale, Nottinghamshire. Friends thought at first she was asleep but found her cold and raised the alarm. A police doctor certified her dead.

At a news conference yesterday, Superintendent Mick Salt, of Nottingham police, said the girl's father, Roy, was a superintendent in the force.

Claire, who worked with her mother Ruth as a bereavement consultant, had left home in Mansfield at 10pm on Saturday. She is thought to have gone to a pub for a drink before arriving at the party.

Supt Salt said the partygoers were being interviewed. "We do know they had been drinking alcohol and some tablets had been circulated, but at this stage we don't know what type they were."

A Home Office pathologist is carrying out a post mortem examination. There will then be a toxicology report on her blood.

Supt Salt said the result would not be known before Wednesday. "At present we are interviewing the 15 people who were in the house but there may be others we have to see."

"There is no suggestion at this stage that it is a criminal inquiry, and no one has been arrested. We are making investigations on behalf of the coroner."

Men top table in work bias cases

BARRIE CLEMENT

Labour Editor

Figures to be released next month will confirm that for the first time more men than women are claiming discrimination in the search for jobs.

The Equal Opportunity Commission's annual report will show that last year 820 men alleged employers had shown bias against them, compared with 803 from women. It is the first time men have made up the majority of complaints since equality legislation was brought in more than 20 years ago.

The battle of the sexes is now changing with men often finding the hunt for employment more difficult than women. Complaints to the EOC from men in 1995 were 10 per cent up on the previous year with record numbers suing for compensation.

The data from the EOC reveals a fundamental change in the labour market where male unemployment now stands at 10.5 per cent, compared with 4.3

per cent for women. EOC officials point out that traditional male jobs - especially for the unskilled and semi-skilled - have declined and men are increasingly being forced to look elsewhere for work. EOC officials say many of the claims from men involve applications for jobs seen "as women's work".

Men seeking employment as secretaries, receptionists, nannies, clerks and shop assistants are often faced by employers who make it clear that they would prefer to take on a woman. A lot of male employers believe that women are more compliant and that they will work for lower wages. Some companies also believe that an attractive woman is more appealing to customers.

The number of complaints from men may also be a result of their greater assertiveness. Women seem to be at a disadvantage when they find employment. Officials data consistently reveals that women are paid less and do worse when it comes to promotion.

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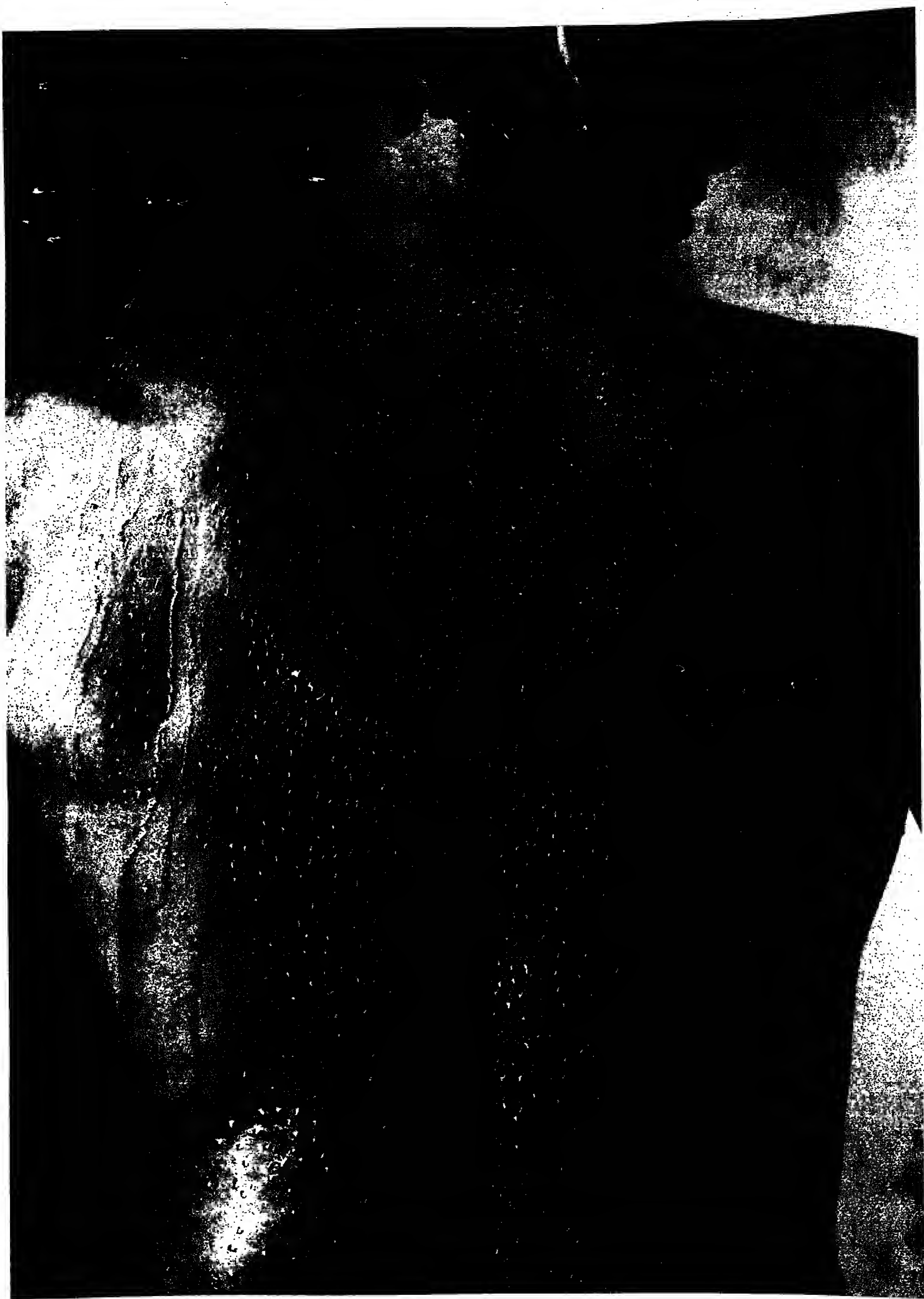
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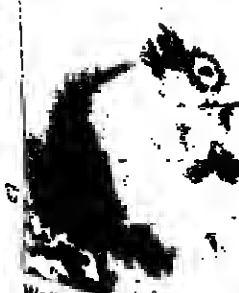


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Labour scandal: 'Party within a party' accused of vote-rigging

Secret report exposes council's ruling clique

STEVE BOGGAN
Chief Reporter

A secret report into the ruling Labour group on Hackney council in north-east London has found evidence of vote-rigging, the establishment of a party within a party and an almost total breakdown of political discipline.

Senior Labour Party officials sent in to investigate the rogue council found *prima facie* evidence that one Labour councillor had been involved in election malpractices which resulted in the election of three Conservatives in 1994.

Further, they discovered that a caucus of Labour councillors, calling itself the Manifesto Group, was formulating policy in private to the exclusion of other members.

One such meeting, described as "wholly wrong and inappropriate", decided that support would be given to Bernard Crofton, Hackney's controversial housing director, who was described in an official report this week as a liar and a fraud. Frank Field, the Labour chair-

Senior officials found evidence of election malpractices

man of the Commons Social Services Committee, has said he hacked Mr Crofton.

The Hackney report, which calls for the suspension of two senior councillors, found such a "basic failure to understand - and a lack of knowledge and respect for - the National Rules and Procedures of the Labour Party" that it even recommends making all Labour's 43 councillors re-sign their allegiance to the party and its rules.

Labour's Walworth Road headquarters is holding a series of interviews with councillors and is also seeking more written evidence.

The two councillors facing suspension from the party, pending a further inquiry by Labour's National Executive Committee, are David Phillips, the constituency agent, and Isaac Liebowitz, a member of Hackney's Orthodox Jewish community.

According to the report, Mr Phillips "participated in, as-



Bernard Crofton: Support was 'wholly wrong'

sisted in the convening of, and was present at meetings of the Manifesto Group and thus played a key role in the functioning of an unofficial group of Labour councillors". This, it says, represented a "Group within a Group".

Further, it says he misled the party about his debts when applying to become a Labour candidate. He "claimed to have no... outstanding obligations. In fact, he had a court order on payment of court costs on Community Charge Arrears".

The report's most astonishing findings, however, relate to Mr Liebowitz. It says: "There is strong *prima facie* evidence that Isaac Liebowitz was involved in two areas of malpractice surrounding the 1994 London Borough elections... Cllr Liebowitz... is allegedly implicated in membership packing and proxy vote fixing generally and in Northfield Ward in particular."

An affidavit by a senior Labour councillor, submitted to the NEC and obtained by the *Independent*, alleges that five wards in Hackney were "packed" with Orthodox Jews, many of whom were recruited by Mr Liebowitz and some of whom did not appear on the electoral register. In the Northfield Ward, established members were replaced by officers with no previous interest in politics, including a secretary who "vanished" after a couple of months.

When the elections came, all three seats in the ward - Labour-held for more than 20 years - were won by Conservatives in the only Tory gain in the whole of London. Subsequent examination of voting records showed an enormous - high level of proxy votes.

The report says: "Some of the proxy voters/members did not and never had resided at the addresses used and even, possibly that they were people who did

not exist at all. Others were children, or not British nationals."

Some time later, Mr Liebowitz sent a Jewish New Year card to Denise Robson, one of the Labour candidates denied victory in the Northfield ward. In it, he wrote: "I take this opportunity to ask you for forgiveness and apology for all the wrong I have done to you or spoke about you... I hope you will find [it] in your heart to forgive me and we will be good friends again."

Ms Robson asked Mr Liebowitz to elaborate on his apology. She received no reply.

Mr Liebowitz rejected the allegations against him. "I will vigorously contest these charges," he said. "I categorically deny them. They are totally untrue, totally fabricated."

He said the apology he sent to Denise Robson related to his refusal to support her nomination on an Orthodox Jewish working party.

"She wanted to be chair of the committee and I would not support her. It was about politics."

He said the allegations were intended to discredit him, but he would not say who he believed was trying to discredit him.

Mr Phillips said: "I understand a report has gone to the NEC and they have set up a Disputes Panel that is having hearings at the moment. Until that has finished I can't comment on any of these matters and I am not at liberty to discuss the allegations about the Manifesto Group."



Battle stations: Marines from 846 Squadron in action at Fort Pickett, Virginia, during operation Purple Star, the biggest amphibian exercise involving British and US troops since the second world war. Photograph: Dizzy De Silva

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Decision day for scheme to save the red squirrel

NICHOLAS SCHOON
Environment Correspondent

If it were up to the public, the red squirrel would easily head the list of 116 British plant and animal species for which rescue plans have been proposed. Not one of the other threatened or declining species has won quite so much pity or affection.

The small red rodent's extinction clock started ticking when the larger, more adaptable grey squirrel was introduced here from North America in the late 19th century. Once greys have arrived in an area the reds vanish 15 years later.

This month, the Government will belatedly give its response to the rescue plans, which were drawn up by a large committee of wildlife charities, civil servants and Government and academic scientists.

The list, a follow-up to the 1992 Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit, was unveiled last December. Now the wildlife conservationists are waiting to see how committed ministers are to turning plans into actions.

The price tag for saving the red squirrel is put at £220,000 a year over and above what is already being spent on conservation efforts - making it



Well-loved: The red squirrel is losing ground to the grey

Heritage of the wild

among the most expensive creatures on the list. The Government is being asked to share the bill with sponsors and charities.

There are about 160,000 red squirrels left, mostly in Scotland, while the number of greys has climbed to 2.5 million. They are better adapted than the reds to Britain's wet, deciduous and highly fragmented woodlands.

Greys can live in higher population densities and are much more capable of moving across the open country. They are also better at digesting one of the most important available food items, acorns, and they breed faster.

The reds, whose optimal habitat is the drier, coniferous forest of the Continent, are expected to vanish from all but a few patches of England shortly after 2000, and from Wales thereafter, unless effective ways of controlling the grey squirrels are brought in. Only in the Scots Pine forests north of the border is there a good chance of them meeting the competition once the greys arrive. Red squirrels are also still widespread in Northern Ireland.

A foolproof way of controlling greys while safeguarding the reds has yet to be devised. The Forestry Commission has been researching a food hopper which can give poisoned bait to greys but not to the smaller reds.

Techniques for managing woodlands in a way which favours the reds are also being investigated. One proposed action is to create eight square miles of coniferous forest reserves in Wales.

news



Early birds: Competitors at the world worm- charming championships at Blackawton, Devon, yesterday. This year's event, billed as the first Worm Olympiad, was won by the local Churchill Charmers who lured 42 worms to the surface in their allotted time. Photograph: Tim Cuff

Education battleground: Changes in marking prompt anxiety □ Police to curb adult violence

Teachers' exam preview 'is cheats' charter'

JUDITH JUDD
and FRAN ABRAMS

Teachers from nearly three in four secondary schools have already seen the questions for this year's national English tests for 14-year-olds, which begin on Wednesday.

The decision to disclose questions and model answers to all teacher markers before the tests is unprecedented. GCSE and A-level questions are kept under wraps until the day of the exam. Although the teachers

have been asked to sign confidentiality agreements, there is concern that some may inadvertently, or even deliberately, leak the questions to pupils.

Exam officials say they need to use this year's questions in training sessions for the 2,600 markers to ensure that marking is fair in the tests for 600,000 14-year-olds. Last year, the standard of marking in English tests was widely criticised and 20,000 pupils had their grades changed on appeal.

Teachers said some of the brightest pupils had not been awarded high enough grades and some of the least able had scored too highly because the markers were inexperienced. This year, officials at the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority (SCAA), which organises the tests, have insisted on more rigorous training for markers. It began on Saturday and was organised by the five GCSE exam boards.

During training, all markers were given this year's questions and senior markers helped them decide what sort of answer would be appropriate for each "level". Under the national curriculum, pupils progress along a scale ranging from levels 1 to 8 with most 14-year-olds expected to reach level 5 to 6.

David Blunkett, Labour's education spokesman, said: "It does seem very strange and worrying that so many individuals will have seen the tests before they are taken. I hope that this

exercise does not undermine their validity."

Doug McAwoy, general secretary of the National Union of Teachers, said that with the best will in the world it would be difficult for markers not to pass on hints to their pupils. "It is impossible to believe the teaching of some of those involved will not be influenced by their knowledge. This will advantage some pupils over other pupils and undermines the deficiencies which continue to exist in the Government's system of testing."

An SCAA spokeswoman said: "We have put in more training for markers this year to get better quality marking. We have left this as late as we can. Pupils take the test on Wednesday and Monday is a bank holiday so there will be only one working school day between the training and the tests. To get the training done, we have to start before the tests begin."

"Papers from each school will be marked by an individual marker and it won't be the pupils' own teacher so, if they have been coached, it will show."

Until last weekend only around 100 senior markers had seen the questions.

For those teachers who are not markers, security has been tightened after allegations of cheating last year. Schools will be forbidden to open the papers until the day of the test and teachers will be told not to look at the mark scheme and answers until the tests are over.

Parents could face arrest

FRAN ABRAMS
Education Correspondent

Aggressive parents who intrude on school premises could be arrested under new police powers proposed by a government working party on school security.

Ministers are also expected to announce that the group, set up after the murder of the Loddon head teacher Philip Lawrence last December, will turn its attention to the growing crisis over school discipline.

The report on security, drawn up by Home Office and education officials along with local authorities, teachers' unions, parents' groups and charities, will be presented to Gillian Shephard, the Secretary of State for Education, in the next few days.

It will address growing concern over violent pupils and intruders who pose a threat. Teachers' unions say that these intruders are often parents or older brothers who storm in to complain about the disciplining of an offender. Recent cases have included a father who threatened to throw a head teacher through a window in a

row over his six-year-old son and a male secondary school teacher attacked by the older brother of a disruptive pupil.

Commissioned after the stabbing of Mr Lawrence outside St George's Roman Catholic School in Maida Vale, the report was added to after the Dunblane massacre. Although its authors say little could have been done in that case, they have recommended new police powers to deal with unwelcome visitors.

The move will involve an amendment to the 1984 Local Government Act, which allows police to remove intruders from schools with permission from the staff. They will not only be able to ask them to leave, but also will be allowed to arrest them.

A separate measure already being put in place under a Private Member's Bill introduced by Lady Olga Maitland will redefine a school as a public place so that police do not need permission to enter or to search pupils for weapons.

The security group has agreed that it will continue to meet to discuss problems of school discipline.

New call to curb passive smoking

LIZ HUNT
Health Editor

A leading cancer charity today renews its call for tougher tobacco controls and legislation to protect non-smokers, following a review of lung cancer and smoking in the UK.

The Cancer Research Campaign says the disease claims 37,000 lives each year and there are more than 40,000 new cases annually.

It remains the most common cause of cancer mortality, with 100 deaths every day.

Numerous health education campaigns have failed to make an impact on the proportion of new recruits to smoking, and the government target of less than 20 per cent of adults smoking by 2000 is unlikely to be achieved.

Professor Gordon McVie, director-general of the CRC, said that government health campaigns which cost less than £10m a year have to compete with the tobacco industry's annual advertising budget of £100m.

The CRC wants an outright ban on advertising and promotion; a greater commitment by government to help people

quit, and new laws to protect non-smokers in public places.

It is estimated that one person dies every day from lung cancer caused by passive smoking. The Government target for 80 per cent of public places to have effective anti-smoking policies by 1994 has not been met.

More effective methods for preventing young people from starting to smoke are also required, the CRC says.

It is estimated that the Government receives more than £100m a year in tax on cigarettes sold illegally to children under the age of 16.

Smoking surveys began in 1948, when 82 per cent of men smoked some sort of tobacco and 65 per cent were cigarette smokers. By 1970, the figure had fallen to 55 per cent, and to 28 per cent by 1994.

For women, the pattern is different. In 1948, 41 per cent of women smoked. By 1970, the figure was 44 per cent, falling to 26 per cent by 1994.

■ **Lung Cancer and Smoking - UK Factsheet 1996**; Cancer Research Campaign, Cambridge House, 10 Cambridge Terrace, London NW1 4JL.

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مكتبة القرآن الكريم

Conflict in Cairngorms: Heritage body to rule on £17m mountain railway for skiers and walkers opposed by conservationists

Jobs versus nature in battle for mountains

STEPHEN GOODWIN

The credibility of Scottish Natural Heritage will be on the line tomorrow when the conservation agency's board meets to reconsider its objection to the £17m plan for a funicular railway on Cairngorm.

Magnus Magnusson, chairman of SNH, and his fellow board members are in a bind. If they decide the developers have met fears about too many boots trampling the high mountain plateau and give the project their blessing, SNH will be accused of betraying its conservation duty.

But if the objection is maintained there will be protests from Highland councillors that the agency is setting the concerns of "outsiders" in lobby groups above the need to provide jobs and replace antiquated Aviemore ski facilities.

The Cairngorm Chairlift Company wants to build a 2km railway on 93 concrete pillars almost to the summit of Cairngorm, at 1,245 metres ood of



Model future: An artist's impression of the funicular railway and visitors centre Photograph: Peter Jolly

spill out on to the plateau, the RSPB and others could well take their fight to Europe.

The chairlift company is hoping to get up to £13m of the cost from public funds, including £6m from the EU. However, funding must not breach the EU's own environmental law.

Lloyd Austin, the RSPB's conservation officer in Scotland, said in the event of SNH giving way, the RSPB would consider legal challenges, "potentially involving the European Court of Justice".

The RSPB has joined with the Scottish Wildlife and Countryside Link and another body, Save the Cairngorms Campaign, in proposing a £14m alternative that, they claim, would be less of a blot on the landscape and likely to create more jobs – 55 full-time equivalent jobs compared to 50 with the funicular. Instead of a funicular there would be a gondola running from the Glenmore forest in the valley, where there would be a visitor centre and car park. The top section would be a chair lift open for skiers only.

The impact on the mountain of the two schemes would be radically different. Outside the skiing season, the funicular could carry a hoped-for 250,000 people a year. The alternative would erase the eyesore of the existing vast car park part-way up the mountain, close the approach road and recreate a "long walk in" for summer climbers and walkers.

Campaigners are optimistic that SNH will maintain its objection – a decision taken by eight votes to four behind closed doors in March. Mr Magnusson was said by sources to be sympathetic to the scheme at the time but may feel sealing the visitor centre destroys any "mountain experience".

A further blow came last week in a letter to Hamish

Swan, chairman of the company, from a prominent local businessman doubting the viability of the funicular. David Hayes, director of Visitor Centres Ltd, said he could not see

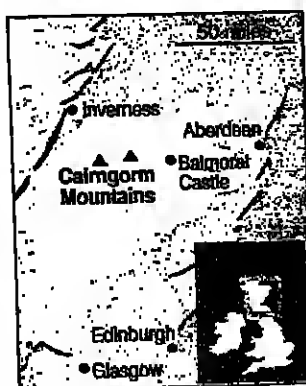
how an environmental exhibition, "no matter how much is spent on it", would have sufficient drawing power.

Bill Wright, of the Save the Cairngorms Campaign, said he would be "surprised" if SNH changed its mind. "The funicular gives all the wrong messages about the protection of wild places. Nor would there be a quality experience for visitors."

But the chairlift company believes it has met SNH's objection. "We hope the board will feel happy that the closed system meets the needs of the EU directives," said communications manager Tania Adams, adding that the company had looked at the gondola idea and found it "flawed". It would be more at the mercy of high winds on the mountain.



Up in the air: Tim Wittome, chief executive of the Cairngorm Lift Company, takes a ride Photograph: Colin McPherson



Britain's highest mountains. Highland Council voted last month to support the funicular subject to the SNH objection being withdrawn.

With a semi-arctic climate, the Cairngorm mountains are regarded as Britain's finest tract of wild land. The plateau is the nesting ground of several rare birds, notably dotterel, snow bunting and ptarmigan. Land adjacent to the ski area is owned by the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (RSPB).

Proposed as a World Heritage Site – though unlikely to get this international accolade if the funicular goes ahead – the Cairngorms are already subject to the European Union's most stringent protection for birds and natural habitats. If SNH drops its objection in response to assurances that summer funicular users will not be able to



Under threat: the ptarmigan, left, and dotterel, two rare species who nest in the Cairngorm mountains

Tourists warm to great outdoors

Last summer's high temperatures brought a significant increase in the number of people visiting outdoor attractions, it was revealed yesterday.

Trips to country parks rose by 7 per cent in 1995 while the number of visitors to gardens went up 5 per cent, the British Tourist Authority said. Historic properties welcomed 4 per cent more visitors. Overall, visits to tourist attractions increased by 2 per cent in 1995 compared with 1994. The BTA statistics showed that last year...

- Visitor centre numbers rose 4 per cent.
- Visits to farm attractions were up 3 per cent and steam railways rose 2 per cent.
- The number of tourists visiting museums and galleries fell 3 per cent.
- Visits to workplaces were down 2 per cent, while leisure

parks and wildlife attractions did as well as in 1994.

■ Alton Towers theme park in Staffordshire was again the top admission-charging attraction.

■ Blackpool Pleasure Beach, with 7.3 million visitors, was the top admission-free attraction, while 5.7 million visited the British Museum in London (also free).

Adele Biss, the BTA chairman, said: "Increased investment and the added bonus of a hot summer tempted more visitors to sample our many and diverse tourist attractions. World class attractions new this year, such as the Royal Armouries in Leeds and Legoland at Windsor, should encourage more days out in 1996."

Free attractions reported a 2 per cent increase in admissions while admission-charging ones rose 1 per cent.

Britain's top ten attractions

The leading fee-charging attractions last year were:	
Venue	Admissions
1. Alton Towers, Staffordshire	2,707,000
2. Madame Tussaud's, London	2,703,283
3. Tower of London	2,536,680
4. Chessington World of Adventure, Surrey	1,770,000
5. Science Museum, London	1,556,368
6. St Paul's Cathedral, London	1,500,000
7. Windsor Castle, Berkshire	1,212,305
8. Blackpool Tower	1,205,000
9. Thorpe Park, Surrey	1,166,000
10. Natural History Museum, London	1,064,273

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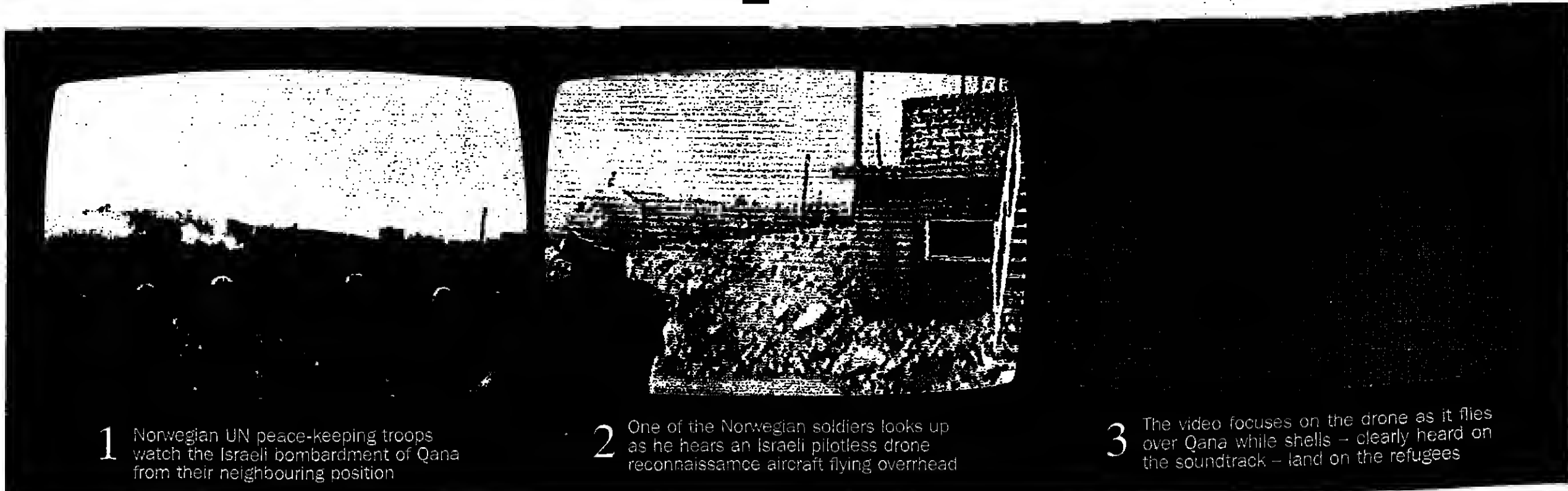
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MASSACRE AT QANA

A soldier's video pictures that show



1 Norwegian UN peace-keeping troops watch the Israeli bombardment of Qana from their neighbouring position

2 One of the Norwegian soldiers looks up as he hears an Israeli pilotless drone reconnaissance aircraft flying overhead

3 The video focuses on the drone as it flies over Qana while shells – clearly heard on the soundtrack – land on the refugees

how

Israel b
map e

Spotter plane seen over UN compound

'Spy in the sky' showed whole picture

HOW DRONES WORK

CHRISTOPHER BELLAMY
Defence CorrespondentROBERT FISK
Qana

It is a soldier's videotape, recorded – at the start at least – as just another incident to remember back home by a United Nations trooper after his six months' tour of duty in southern Lebanon are over.

Indeed, when the camera first records the Israeli shells tearing into the UN base at Qana, the other soldiers who appear in the film, most of them Norwegians in the UN's Force Mobile Reserve opposite Qana, seem unaware of its implications. One of them makes a joke, another looks gawdily into the camera even as it tapes the clouds of smoke obscuring Qana. The camera pans through barbed wire as more brown puffs of smoke emerge from the white-painted buildings of the UN's Fijian battalion headquarters.

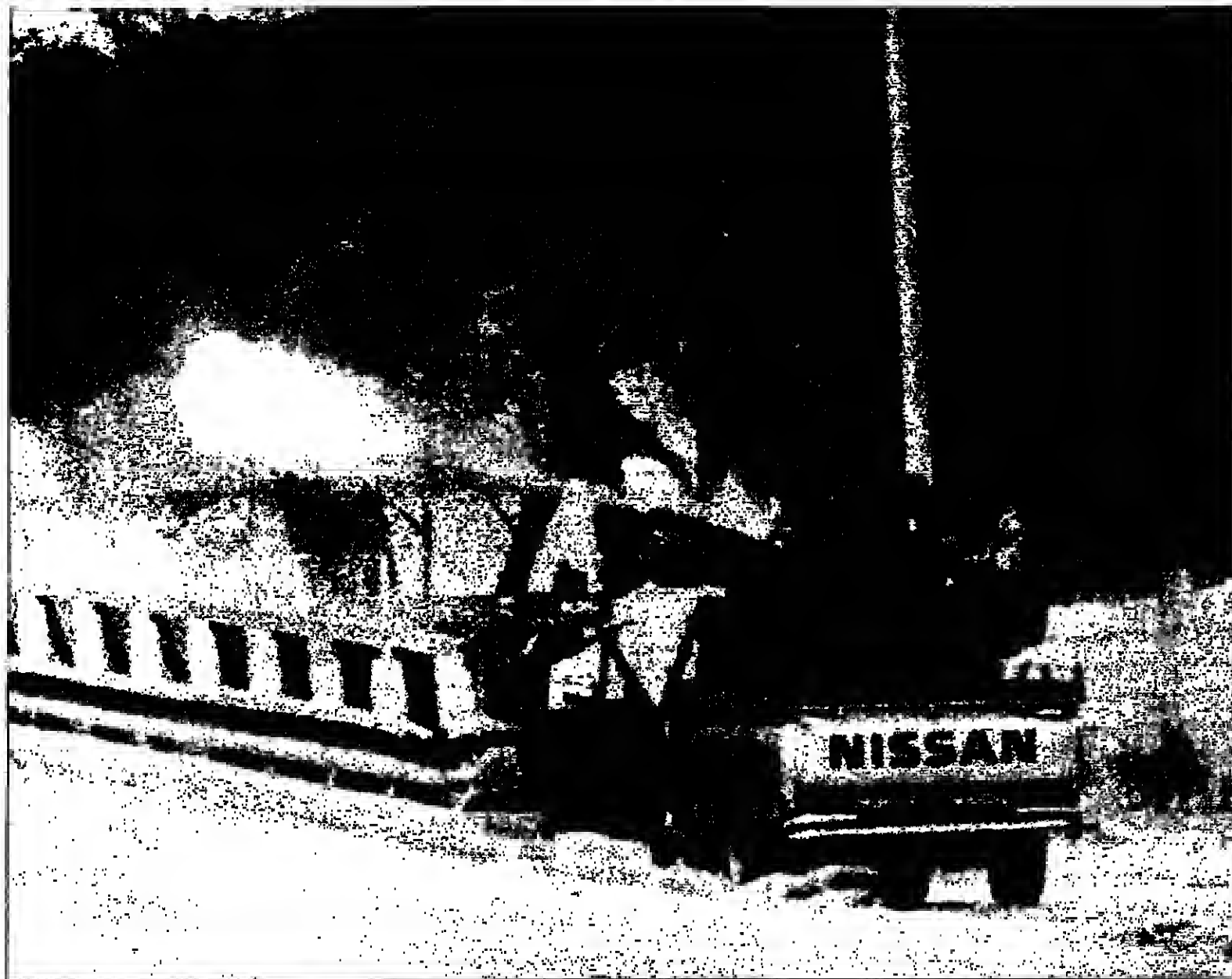
Then UN officers can be seen at an observation post staring at Qana as the Israeli shells rain onto their colleagues and the helpless refugees across the valley. A group of Norwegian soldiers talk excitedly and the camera, its owner obviously growing aware of the gravity of the situation, moves in close-up towards Qana with a zoom lens until the videotape is filled with drifting smoke. Shortly afterwards, the sound-track picks up the familiar buzzing sound of the Israeli "drone", final and irrefutable evidence that later Israeli denials were false – until the Israelis changed their story last night.

Refugees and UN officers had all talked of hearing the Israeli artillery "spotter" aircraft before and during the Israeli attack on the UN base. But here at last, in living colour, was the proof: distinct pictures of the small Israeli aircraft over Qana, the plane that the Israelis – for two weeks – claimed was never there.

One of the UN soldiers who saw the video being made says that neither he nor his colleagues understood in the first few seconds what was happening at Qana. "We know the Israelis are perfect in their accuracy. The previous day, when Katyushas had been fired a couple of miles away, we saw the Israeli return fire come back on the launch site with complete accuracy. We felt so safe about the Israeli artillery that we never went indoors when shells flew over."

"They knew we were here and so they never hit us. So we didn't even wear flak jackets when there were shell warnings. The Israelis knew what they were doing. And then we saw Qana and by the end, none of us believed it was an accident. Yes, the Israelis knew what they were doing. What do you think the 'drone' was for?"

A UN officer from a Nato na-



Provocation: Hizbollah guerrillas near Qana firing their Katyusha rockets at targets inside Israel. Afterwards they ran into the UN compound

tion who saw the videotape – a copy of which has been obtained by the *Independent* – before it was handed over to UN investigating General Frank van Kappen, was more emotional. "If the UN report is diluted to please the Israelis and the Americans, how is the UN going to live with it? How are we on the ground here supposed to pass by that mass grave [of

more than 100 civilians in Qana] with a clear conscience? "I and many others have risked our lives under constant Israeli shelling. We put up with their lies and the arrogance of their explanations. They blame us because we let unarmed Hizbollah men visit their families in our base. But back in 1984, Israeli soldiers were ambushed near my base and we let

them in and protected them. Of course, the Israelis don't mention that now. But even if it means the end of my military career, I'll never say this was an accident. The Israelis knew they were firing at innocent people."

The UN have noted that an Israeli officer is also ensuring that his military career remains unblemished. For although the

Israeli Prime Minister, Shimon Peres, denied knowing that more than 800 civilians were sheltering at the UN base at Qana on 18 April, Major General Moshe Yaalon, the Israeli army chief of intelligence, stated on the day of the massacre that the Israeli Defence Forces knew of the civilian presence at Qana and that it was the Israeli army's Northern Command under General Amiram Levine – already reprimanded after his artillery fired into the village of Shaqra last year and killed a young Lebanese woman – which ignored the intelligence information.

"Yaalon knows something smells and he's keeping himself out of it," a European UN soldier said. "The Israeli investigation that Dan Harel [the brigadier commanding the Israeli Artillery Corps] carried out was cursory. He said they fired at the Katyushas and that only two rounds hit the UN base. This is bullshit. We know that at least 12 rounds hit the base, seven of them fitted with

proximity fuses which explode the shells seven metres from the ground and are designed to kill the maximum number of people by inflicting amputation wounds."

Towards the end of the 8-minute videotape that has so transformed the UN's official investigation, the horror of Qana has been understood by the UN soldiers watching from the neighbouring hillside and by the amateur military cameraman. Just after he films the

drone, he focuses the camera on a fire that is raging in the heart of the UN compound, the Fijian battalion conference room that was home to dozens of Lebanese refugees.

The flames burn white and red in the centre of the frame – the Israeli pilotless drone spotter-plane can still be heard on the sound-track – and then a pall of black smoke rises from the building in which the Lebanese civilians are being burned alive.

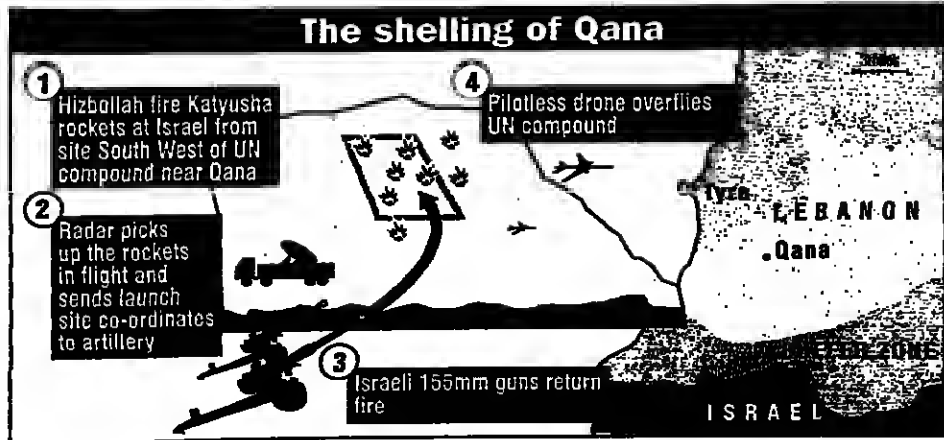
On the videotape, the soldier is now recording the UN radio. An Irish voice says: "Fijian headquarters is still under shelling." One of the UN soldiers who stood close to the cameraman was to tell me later that in one observation post a colleague could hear – a mile away across the valley at Qana – "a sort of chorus of screaming". A set of still photographs of the shelling, which the *Independent* has also obtained, shows only one shell falling outside the compound – in the opposite direction to the Katyusha launch site at which the Israelis claim they were firing.

The last sequences of the tape are taken as the cameraman and his colleagues in the UN's Force Mobile Reserve – including Irish, Norwegian and Fijian soldiers – race in armoured vehicles to the Qana base amid a convoy of ambulances. In confusion, a medevac team drop an empty stretcher on the ground and then, drip-feed held over a figure on another stretcher, haul a wounded refugee into an ambulance. The camera moves to a hill where a white-painted UN helicopter with wounded on board is preparing to take off. On the ground in front of it stands an injured Lebanese woman, a bandage round her head, holding two small children by their hands.

As the rotor blades swish the air above them, the Italian pilot climbs out of the plane, shooting them away, moving his arms back and forth, ordering them back from the helicopter.

With a kind of desolation, the woman, in a blue dress, half her face in bandages, leads the two children down the hill from the helicopter, accompanied by two shocked Fijian UN soldiers.

Leading article, page 14



How 'The Independent' the UN reaction on the day of the Israeli shelling of Qana

Peres's uncertain fate casts shadow on Palestinian talks

ERIC SILVER
Jerusalem

Israeli and Palestinian negotiators yesterday began the long, tortuous process of defining their permanent relationship in the disputed strip of land between the river Jordan and the Mediterranean.

The good news for the Palestinians was that the talks, in the Egyptian Red Sea resort of Taba, began on schedule.

The bad news was that Israel has put off once again the last stage of the "Oslo II" interim agreement, the evacuation of all but a contentious enclave of the

West Bank holy city of Hebron, until after the 29 May elections. Hebron is the only major Palestinian population centre which is still under Israeli occupation.

The Prime Minister, Shimon Peres, reiterated at the weekend that Israeli troops would redeploy from areas inhabited by up to 150,000 Hebron Arabs, although they would remain in the centre of Hebron to protect 450 Jewish settlers. But he shrinks from precipitating a conflict with Israel's right-wing extremists before polling day.

The opening of the Taba negotiations was a formality. Here, too, the real bargaining

will only start on 30 May 30, and much then will depend on whether Mr Peres or his hard-line Likud rival, Benjamin Netanyahu, emerges as the victor in the polls.

Israel's chief peace negotiator, Uri Savir, celebrated yesterday's meeting as "the light at the end of the tunnel of a 100-year conflict."

The opening of final-status negotiations, he added, was a victory for the Oslo process, which had "met the challenges, the opposition and the violence that tried to kill it."

NEGOTIATING THE PEACE

The two teams have allowed themselves three years to reach agreement on the most difficult issues, which they deliberately left till last: Jerusalem, which both nations claim as their capital; the 3 million Palestinian refugees; Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip; the border between Israel and Palestine; security arrangements; and their eventual relationship. Both sides are starting from maximalist positions.

"If talks are conducted intensively," the chief Palestinian negotiator, Mahmoud Abbas,

predicted, "we hope to finish in two years or less, but because we are dealing with tough issues, talks might go on for three years." Most observers will be surprised if they do not. Another Palestinian negotiator, Saeb Erakat, stressed that "the purpose of the talks on the permanent solution is to establish an independent Palestinian state."

Mr Peres's Labour party accepts the prospect of a Palestinian state, but the Likud hopes to perpetuate autonomy as the permanent, not just the interim, status of the 2 million West Bank and Gaza Palestinians.

So far, neither Israeli contender is ready to contemplate a division of sovereignty in Jerusalem. The Palestinians say they will settle for nothing less. On refugees, the Palestinians are demanding a right of return to their native towns and villages for all those who were driven out in the 1948 war.

Israelis of all political complexions oppose any such repatriation, which they argue would turn Israel into a binational state. They would look more sympathetically at compensation, provided it was paid also to Jews forced to leave Arab countries at the same time.

The Palestinians want all 127 Jewish settlements removed. At best, they would let some of the 140,000 settlers stay if they took Palestinian nationality.

Israel hopes to redraw the old "green-line" borders, so that many of the settlements around Jerusalem and in the foothills of Samaria (the northern part of the West Bank) would be annexed to Israel. The Israelis also insist on retaining a security presence in the Jordan valley.

"We know there is a big gap between the sides," acknowledged Saeb Erakat. On that point, at least, all the Israelis and Palestinians can agree.

Letters, page 14

مكتبة المجلد

MASSACRE AT QANA

how 100 innocent people were killed



4 Fire in the UN conference hall (centre) rages as 40 civilians are being burned alive inside. The sound of the drone can still be heard

5 A UN paramedic holds a drip bag over a wounded Lebanese refugee being loaded into an ambulance

6 A UN pilot, his helicopter full of wounded civilians, orders an injured Lebanese and two wounded children to move away

Israel blames map errors

ERIC SILVER
Tel Aviv

The Israeli army last night blamed faulty map-making for the massacre, but categorically denied United Nations charges that it had deliberately targeted civilians.

The deputy chief of staff, Major General Matan Vilnai, said that because of a cartographical error long before the event, "the camp was about 150 metres from where we thought it was - that was why the artillery hit the camp".

He insisted that the Israeli army did not know there were civilian refugees in the camp. "We knew generally that civilians were using UN camps as shelters. We had photographed Qana camp two days earlier from the air. There was no sign of civilians. We over knew that a huge number of civilians were in the camp."

An aerial photograph shown to reporters confirmed this account. Only two or three figures could be seen walking between the corrugated iron roofs.

Maj Gen Vilnai confirmed that an Israeli drone was flying over the vicinity, but claimed it was on another mission and was not sending back television pictures of the Qana camp. It

returned two hours after the shelling, he explained, and then it did relay shots of the damage.

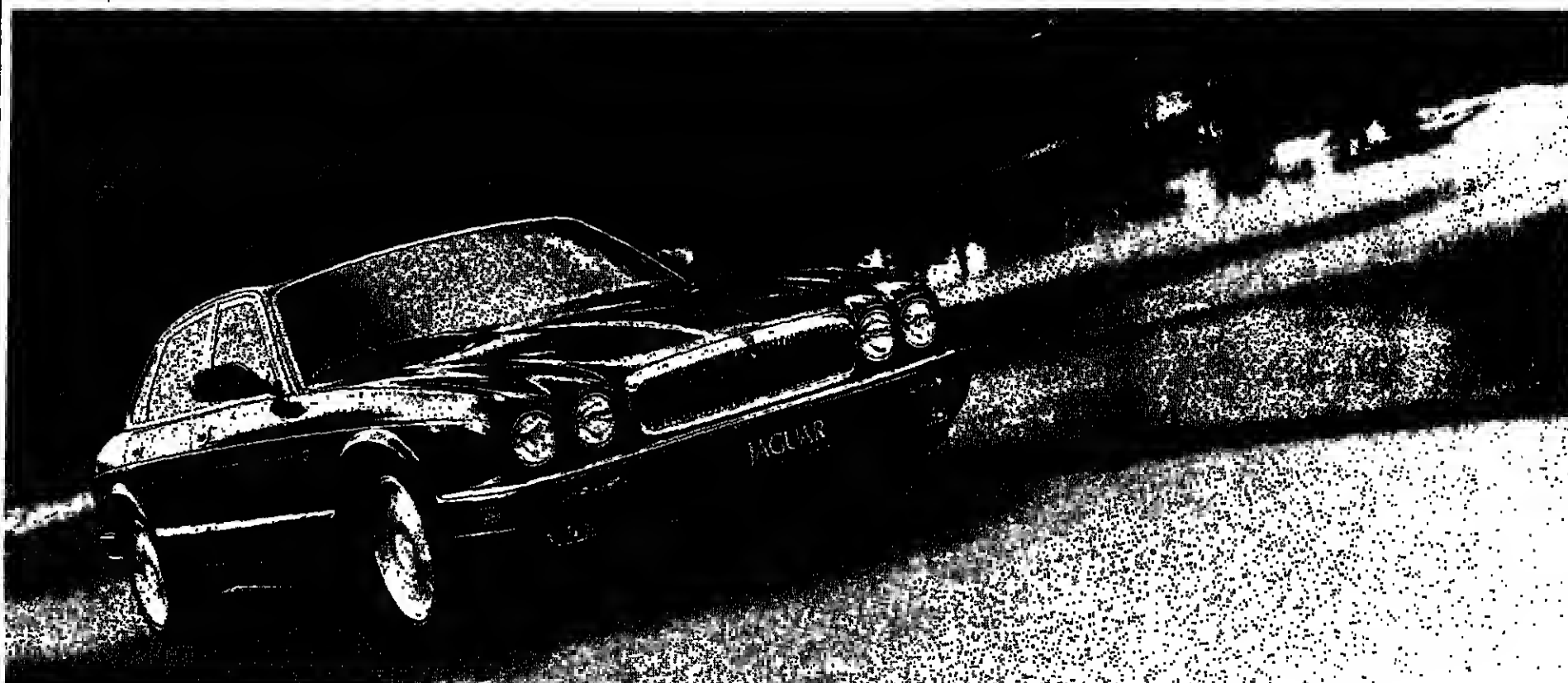
The major general reiterated that it was not Israeli policy to shell UN camps. If they had meant to shell it, he said, the damage would have been much more devastating. Only a few of the 60 shells Israel now admits firing in the area "accidentally" hit the camp.

According to the findings of an Israeli investigation, the shelling began as a rescue mission when a commando unit seeking out Katyusha rocket-launching sites came under mortar fire in open ground.

"The mortars began falling 100 metres from the force, then 30 or 40 metres with shrapnel falling right beside our soldiers," General Vilnai said. "We acted in a matter of minutes to extricate the unit. In that time we had to understand what was going on, to relay orders and to stop the enemy fire."

He expressed the army's regret for the loss of life, but blamed Hizbollah for cynically exploiting civilians as an umbrella for firing at Israeli civilian and military targets.

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Damning report on Qana may be 'watered down'

DAVID USBORNE
New York

The UN report on the Qana incident is so damning - for both Israel and for the UN - that its findings may be diluted or rewritten completely before it sees the light of day, diplomats said yesterday.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the UN Secretary-General, is due to give an oral briefing to the UN Security Council in New York this afternoon on the main conclusions of the report that was compiled on his request by his senior military advisor, General Frank Van Kappen of the Netherlands.

It is unclear, however, whether Mr Boutros-Ghali will choose to distribute the current draft of the Van Kappen report, some details of which were leaked to reporters last week. Without any written text, the Security Council will not be able to take action in response.

The pressures on Mr Boutros-Ghali to withhold at least the first Van Kappen draft are manifold. The US government has voiced its scepticism about the findings of the general, who was dispatched to Lebanon in the aftermath of the 14 April attack. The US mission in New York reportedly has also warned that it does not want the report published.

Equally, however, the report contains highly damaging information about the UN itself and about the conduct of the peace-keepers in southern Lebanon. The facility that was struck in the attack was the headquarters of a Fijian battalion that makes up a part of UN Truce Supervision Force (UNTSF), the buffer force that has been deployed by the UN in southern Lebanon since 1978. The camp was crammed with civilians at the time.

Notably, General Van Kappen reveals that Hizbollah guerrillas, who had been firing

rockets into Israeli territory from placements nearby, had been in the habit of running into the UN encampment in order to hide from Israeli fire. Though the Fijians had previously made some efforts to block access to the guerrillas, they had apparently all but given up by the time of the Israeli attack.

"The UN loses big in this report, because it has been shown to have harboured terrorists," one source close to the council said yesterday. He added: "I think it is probable that the report will be watered down before we ever see it. Alternatively, it might say that there is still inadequate evidence to be able to say for certain whether the camp was targeted by the Israelis or not."

Israel will also have an opportunity to try to influence the report's fate. Officials from the Israeli mission in New York have been given until midday today to offer fresh evidence to contradict the General Van Kappen's conclusions.

Part of the plot also is the widely assumed desire of Mr Boutros-Ghali to be elected to a second term as Secretary-General at the end of this year. His chances will be virtually eliminated if he cannot win the support of Washington and publishing Van Kappen's report may not help him in that cause.

Even if the report in its original form is released to the Council, it is far from clear what would follow. Egypt, the only Arab nation represented on the body, would be certain to demand fresh action to condemn the Israeli government, denounce the American and other states - American certainly and perhaps European - may argue that a resolution was passed on the day of the Israeli attack and, though it was mild to substance, no further action would be required.

international

Yeltsin ally wants election postponed

PHIL REEVES
Moscow

One of Boris Yeltsin's closest advisers last night warned that Russia could be plunged into violence unless it postpones the forthcoming presidential election, reinforcing speculation that the Kremlin is manoeuvring to call off the contest for fear the President will be thrown out.

Alexander Korzhakov, head of the presidential security service, one of the most powerful men in Mr Yeltsin's inner

circle, said it was time needed to allow people to "think calmly", warning that there were "entire regions" in Russia where the "civilised expression of people's will" is impossible. The first round of the election is scheduled for 16 June.

Although he said his remarks were personal, they will be seen as reflecting a broader view in the Kremlin that the elections cannot go ahead because of the risk Mr Yeltsin may lose to the Communist front-runner, Gennady Zyuganov.

"It is inadmissible that Russians again fight Russians," General Korzhakov told the Russian agency, Interfax. "The society is splitting ... the division of souls is dangerous." He urged executives, parliamentary officials and leaders of political parties to take heed.

His remarks follow speculation that the elections may be called off. Just over a week ago, 13 prominent industrialists and bankers published a letter in Russian newspapers calling for the leading political rivals to

reach a compromise before a conflict erupted. Mr Zyuganov yesterday told *Pravda* that Mr Yeltsin's entourage was ready to deny the population their right to vote, but that "people will not put up with this".

There is no doubt many in the Yeltsin administration fear defeat, as they would lose jobs and face prosecution for illegally casting in on the privatisation process. But postponing the election without the agreement of the Communists would be a huge risk.

Much of the Russian military is already demoralised and disillusioned by the President's handling of the Chechen war. While the 25,000 presidential guards under Mr Korzhakov's command may defend the Kremlin in the event of unrest, the loyalty of the military is not a foregone conclusion.

General Korzhakov's remarks may have been intended to bolster rumours that the Communists are privately willing to do a deal with the Kremlin in return for policy changes

and key posts. On the face of it, the scenario seems unlikely. The Communists stand a good chance of winning outright. They know hostility to Mr Yeltsin in the regions is huge, and that he lags in the polls. Yet they also know the President controls much of the media, which is showing bias in its coverage, and is pouring money into deprived areas to win votes.

In recent weeks, he appears to have narrowed their lead. In spite of General Korzhakov's wishes, the odds are

that the vote will go ahead, as Mr Yeltsin has promised, with a first round in June and a final round in July. A more compelling issue is what will Mr Yeltsin do if the result goes against him. If he loses by a small margin, he would have little difficulty massaging the vote.

It is widely accepted that his administration cooked the vote in the 1993 referendum on the constitution. But a large deficit would be difficult to fix. What would then happen is anybody's guess.

Chirac's party fails to boost morale

MARY DEJEVSKY
Paris

Activists of France's Gaullist RPR party turned out in force yesterday to mark the first anniversary of Jacques Chirac's election victory and hear the Prime Minister and party president, Alain Juppé, promise a five-year reform of public spending and taxation for the autumn.

But the mood at the one-day national convention in Paris was very far from the euphoria of a year ago and all the professionalism of the Gaullist party machine was unable to disguise strong undercurrents of anxiety and personal rivalry.

Party officials had hoped that the convention would seal the "reconciliation" of the party rank and file with Mr Juppé, who succeeded Mr Chirac as party leader last autumn. Mr Juppé, who has worked hard in recent months to project a more popular and sympathetic image, in which social projects and babies have loomed large, none the less found himself upstaged yesterday by two of the party's genuine populists, Charles Pasqua, the former interior minister, and Philippe Séguin, chairman of the National Assembly.

Promotional films on the party's record, which punctuated stage-managed policy "debates", operated embarrassingly like popularity tests. The 4,500 delegates applauded their favourites and left telling silences whenever Mr Juppé and certain members of his government appeared. His own address, which closed the convention, relied for appeal largely on references to Mr Pasqua and Mr Chirac who, eschewing party politics since his election as President, stayed away.

One purpose of the convention was to chart a course for the 1998 parliamentary elections and announce a major recruitment drive to boost the party's position. At present, the centre-right coalition formed by the Gaullists and the UDF grouping, holds three-quarters of parliamentary seats, won in the 1993 landslide.

The problem for the Gaullists is not only the impossibility of replicating the 1993 results, but the difficulty of combating a threat that now issues from many different quarters at once. One of these is the record of Mr Juppé's government, which may be why he attenuated his statements of last week about slashing public spending over the coming year, with a promise to couple that with a plan to "relieve the pressure of taxation".

Another comprises the external risks from left and right. The risk from the right comes from the far right. At present, the National Front is not represented in parliament. If, however, it can repeat its presidential election showing of 15 per cent, it could hold a balance in a finely balanced parliament. This eventually terrifies the mainstream left and right.

But other risks to the centre-right majority are internal: from supporters of former prime minister, Edouard Balladur and the recent election of the ambitious François Léotard as leader of the UDF - currently the junior partner in the coalition.

Both Mr Juppé yesterday and the RPR general secretary, Jean-François Mancel, made a point of exhorting Gaullists to stick with the coalition as though this was in doubt. The Gaullists were told in no uncertain terms that unless they retained the coalition, the chances of remaining in government beyond 1998 were nil.

Berlin merger plans rejected

IMRE KARACS
Bonn

Plans to reunite the former Prussian capital with its historic hinterland were foiled yesterday when the people of Berlin and Brandenburg rejected the merger of the two *länder*.

After an emotive campaign harking back to the bitterness of German reunification five years ago, a clear majority in Brandenburg opted for going it alone.

The big city was less insular, but the majority of Berliners looked likely, according to first projections, to fall short of the required 25 per cent of eligible voters. The fusion had been approved by the assemblies of the two regions, but would have required the endorsement of both sets of voters.

The goal of knocking down the last wall was supported by all the big national parties, including the Christian Democrats who dominate Berlin, and Brandenburg's Social Democrats. "For 700 years Berlin and Brandenburg were together, the wartime allies pulled us apart in 1945," declared Manfred Stolpe, Brandenburg's Prime Minister.

The politicians insisted that the merger would save DM1bn (£430m) a year in administrative costs, and increase the unified region's competitiveness against Germany's 14 other states. "If you want to play in the big leagues, you have to join forces," said Berlin's mayor, Eberhard Diepgen. With a joint population of 6 million, Berlin-Brandenburg would have been the fifth largest *land* in the federal republic.

But age-old grudges, exacerbated in the communist era when West Berlin was walled off from its rural backyard, weighed more heavily on voters than economic rationale. Apart from the line of minefields that ran through Berlin, there was another kind of division. The communists wanted to turn their half of the city into a showcase, lavishing it with investment and consumer goods at the expense of the countryside.

Now Brandenburgers had a chance to repay the debt. Shunning their leaders' advice, grassroots organisations sprang up with the slogan: "Things are bad enough without Berlin, they will be worse with Berlin".

Unemployment, at 16.4 per cent, is among the highest in Germany, and despite large infusions of capital, Brandenburg's infrastructure is among the least developed.

The referendum also confirmed the ever-growing influence of the Party of Democratic Socialism, the East German post-Communists.

Capturing, once again, the public mood better than the "Wessi"-dominated parties, the PDS produced the winning campaign slogan: "One unification is enough."



War image: Final touches being put to a sculpture of the victims of the Holocaust by Georgian artist Zurab Tsereteli at Poklonnaya Hill, Moscow Photograph: Michael Eystatiev

Hungary's first queen meets her match after 1000 years

ADRIAN BRIDGE
Budapest

More than nine centuries after death parted them, Hungary's first king and queen were reunited - united in body as well as soul this weekend in an extraordinary ceremony which commemorated their 1000th wedding anniversary.

It was a macabre reunion. After so long apart, the preserved remains of King Istvan's right hand were finally brought back together with a bone taken from the arm of his wife, Queen Gisela.

Thousands watched as the royal remains, safely protected in glass-and-gold cases, went on display outside the basilica in the western town of Veszprem, where Queen Gisela once lived.

"I am so proud to live just when this has happened and to be part of it," said Anita Koszegi, a teacher at a Catholic school in the nearby town of Pápa.

The preserved hand was transported to Veszprem from its home in the Saint Istvan Basilica in Budapest in a van with a police escort bearing the Hungarian and Vatican flags.

His wife's arm bone had a longer journey from her tomb in Passau, Bavaria, where she was born and later buried. German bishops joined their Hungarian counterparts in conducting an open-air Mass in Veszprem on Saturday.

"Hungarians have never forgotten their first queen," the Bishop of Passau, Franz Xaver Eder, told the crowd of 20,000, which included Otto von Habsburg, the son of the last Habsburg emperor and King of Hungary, Karl I.

"The bone of the arm that Gisela gave to Istvan, which

carried their children and blessed the people of Veszprem, has returned home. This blessing will now remain with the town forever."

Bishop Eder agreed to the transportation of the bone after an appeal earlier this year from the bishop of Veszprem, who had asked for a part of Gisela to be present at the 1000th anniversary.

The wedding of Istvan and Gisela on 4 May 996 marked a turning point in Hungary's history. As the sister of the Duke of Bavaria, Gisela's union with Istvan crystallised the alliance

between Hungary and the German empire. It also marked Hungary's conversion to Catholicism, which was acknowledged by Pope Sylvester II four years later when he crowned Istvan as the first Christian King of Hungary and agreed to his subsequent canonisation. As Laszlo Dossy, the mayor of Veszprem, said: "Hungary was founded by Istvan and Gisela. From a pagan tribe that had settled in the Carpathian basin, they formed a European nation."

Saturday's commemoration would have been unthinkable in the Communist era. With the end of Communism in 1989, Hungary has sought to stress its historic ties with Western Europe as part of its bid to join the European Union and Nato. All EU ambassadors were invited to the events in Veszprem, known as "Gisela Days".

Not all legends show Istvan in a saintly light. To make sure he would not be succeeded by his brother, Istvan is said to have poured molten lead into his ears, thereby killing him. And one version of the story says the method of killing was devised by Queen Gisela.

Crime-buster to head Olive Tree ministry

ANDREW GUMBEL
Rome

Antonio Di Pietro, the former corruption-busting magistrate looking for a new career in politics, finally decided this weekend to accept a ministry in the new government being formed by the centre-left Olive Tree coalition, thus ending months of speculation about his future.

Mr Di Pietro wrote a letter to the man preparing to head the new government, Romano Prodi, saying he would accept an offer to head the Public Works Ministry but that he

would remain independent as a "technocrat external to the governing coalition".

The decision was an important boost to Mr Prodi's government-forming efforts, because Mr Di Pietro has been considered a major political prize whom both left and right have tried to capture. He is regularly voted the country's most popular public figure, and one poll suggested he would have won the recent general elections, had he run for office.

Members of the centre-right opposition barely concealed their disappointment yesterday, accusing Mr Di Pietro of making an unprincipled choice based on thirst for power.

The former magistrate is particularly well-suited to the Public Works Ministry because it will give him the chance to attack the main source of political corruption in Italy - the handling of public contracts. When Mr Di Pietro challenged the system of contract "kickbacks" four years ago, from the Milan prosecutor's office, he brought down the entire Italian ruling order.

Mr Di Pietro resigned from the magistrature at the end of 1994, in somewhat mysterious circumstances, and has since struggled to find a role. He conducted negotiations with leaders of all the main political parties but stayed out of the recent election campaign because of a series of judicial sneezes that he has only just shaken off.

A conservative by instinct, it appears he was tempted for a long time to join the centre-right coalition headed by the former prime minister Silvio Berlusconi, either as an ally or as an alternative leader. But Mr Berlusconi himself proved too big an obstacle, since one of Mr Di Pietro's last judicial investigations was into the media magnate's business empire, and the two men are irreconcilably at odds.

Negotiations with Mr Prodi were equally unpromising at first, because Mr Di Pietro wanted a big ministry - Interior or Justice. The Public Works Ministry - apparently first suggested by Mr Prodi's niece, emerged as a useful compromise. It is not a particularly sensitive position politically, and it will allow Mr Di Pietro to do what he does best, with an authority that few other public figures could ever hope to match.



Antonio Di Pietro: To lead the Public Works Ministry

Free person with every policy.

كلمة من السيد

'Bhopal' fears after fire at SA chemical plant

REBECCA DODD
Macassar, South Africa

Environmental campaigners are warning of a "South African Bhopal" in the wake of a fire at a chemical plant near Cape Town last December. Community activists claim that the company responsible — a subsidiary of Anglo American Corporation — is refusing to pay fair compensation to the victims of the disaster.

A stockpile of 14,000 tons of sulphur caught fire at AECI's Somerset West Factory on 16 December last year when a welder's torch set off a fire. The sulphur burned for 20 hours and the resulting sulphur dioxide cloud quickly reached Macassar, two miles away. Two people, both asthma sufferers, died. Between 2,500 and 3,500 people were evacuated four hours after the blaze began, but over the next few days thousands of Macassar's 30,000 population received treatment for respiratory problems.

The cloud of toxic gas was so thick that managers of Cape Town airport, 22km away, considered closing it down, and vineyards 15-20km away were damaged. Many people mistook the smoke for tear gas. One woman interviewed shortly after said: "I coughed until my chest hurt. I ran to the tap to wash my face but the smell was

too strong to be tear gas."

According to the South African Environmental Justice Networking Forum, compensation payments from AECI have so far been "completely arbitrary and unfair". The group says claims assessors are offering most people between R250 and R500 (£40-£80) in payments. "There is no independent attempt to put a price on things. They are just offering people money, and because of the poverty and the need for immediate cash, people are taking it... People are getting totally different pay-outs for the same damage," said a forum spokesman.

Members of the local community are angry that some farming families have received millions of rand in compensation and accused AECI of racism.

AECI says the average payout is R700 (£113) and that so far 4,500 out of an expected 8,000 claims have been settled. These claims are mostly for damage to gardens, curtains and carpets — which became saturated in the smoke — and for goods stolen during the evacuation. AECI says the claims were not arbitrary and that different payouts reflected varying degrees of damage and loss. "It is very difficult to generalise when you are dealing with 8,000 claims but there is a pattern."

Another, more important, point of contention is over medical compensation. The community want assurances that all medical costs incurred so far and possible future costs will be paid, but no medical settlement has yet been offered. They want a clinic set up in the township to monitor the long-term effects.

This is the first time a large number of people have been exposed to sulphur dioxide fumes at such close quarters, so doctors have no way of judging what the long term consequences might be. The Justice Networking Forum says that asthma sufferers are already becoming ill and many previously healthy people are beginning to develop asthma-like illnesses. There are also fears for the unborn children of women exposed to the smoke.

AECI says it does not anticipate any problems paying health care cost but wants the results of its health study before agreeing a figure. Already the community is casting doubt on the study, saying its requests to be involved have been refused. "It is far too restrictive, the terms are entirely set by them," said a forum spokesman.

Without taking longer term health costs into account, AECI's insurers expect to pay out R25m (£4m) in immediate damage claims.

Elections in doubt as police and Zulus clash

MARIUS BOSCH
Reuter

Johannesburg — A new flare-up of violence in South Africa's troubled Zulu heartland at the weekend could force the government to send extra soldiers and police to the region just three weeks ahead of scheduled elections.

At least one person was killed and eight were wounded, including three policemen, in clashes between police and Zulu protesters in Durban in KwaZulu-Natal province on Saturday. President Nelson Mandela expressed his "extreme concern" at the incident and said if the situation worsened, extra security forces could be sent to the province.

The violence came as negotiations were staging a last-ditch attempt to break a deadlock which could stall implementation of the country's final post-apartheid constitution.

Presidential spokesman, Joel Netshitenzhe, said the President "has expressed extreme concern about what happened in Durban yesterday. The situation is being reviewed on a continual basis and if it worsens, security forces will be sent to KwaZulu-Natal."

The cabinet has to decide whether local elections on 29 May, already delayed twice, should go ahead or be postponed again. The African National Congress says alleged voter registration fraud and political killings and intimidation mean a fair election is impossible.

The ANC's main rival, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party, says the ANC is just scared of losing the election in KwaZulu-Natal, where more than 14,000 people have been killed since the mid-1980s in a bloody turf war between the two parties.

Police said the province was

calm but tense yesterday. "The signs are there for conflict. Since the electioneering started there has been tension," provincial police spokesman Bala Naidoo said.

Mr Buthelezi, who is also interior minister in Mr Mandela's coalition cabinet, said the elections must go ahead. "I make this appeal to the President for the sake of democracy... let the 29 May elections go ahead as planned," he told supporters at an election rally.

The Zulu leader, whose party has boycotted the constitution-writing process since last year over demands for international mediation, launched an attack on the draft constitution. "Let no-one be in any doubt that this new constitution is the gravest threat to our liberty in existence."

"This new constitution is nothing less than a recipe for a one-party state," Mr Buthelezi said.



Street fighting man: A jubilant NPFL soldier runs from the explosion he has just set off at the Barclay Training Centre in Monrovia. Photograph: AP

Liberians flee as capital blazes

DAVID GUTTENFELDER
Associated Press

Monrovia — About 2,500 Liberian refugees stood on the deck of a Nigerian freighter yesterday, singing their national hymn and waving farewell to Monrovia as the ship inched away from the burning capital.

Clouds of dark smoke covered the city as street fighting raged on and young fighters set dozens of homes and buildings on fire. Rocket-propelled grenades slammed into the besieged Barclay military barracks, the flash point of the month of bloodshed that has ruined the capital.

At the Free Port of Monrovia,

hundreds of Liberians tried to climb up the sides of the Nigerian freighter *Bulk Challenger* as it left the port. Fighting broke out among those who had paid \$50 for the five-day trip to Ghana but were left behind even after their luggage went out to sea.

"It was unbelievable — an exodus. It was pathetic," said Peter Sebok, the Dutch owner of West Coast Fisheries, whose offices are at the port.

The Liberians who made it on board sadly sang "Lone Star Forever," the national hymn.

Not far from the port the two main bridges into the capital,

Mesurado River, were each being held by rival enemy camps, making it difficult for people to move in and out of the city centre.

Government official and rebel leader, Charles Taylor, had vowed the battle for the military barracks held by his enemies would end in victory for his troops by the weekend. But members of the Ulimo-J faction who support his arch-rival, Roosevelt Johnson, fought fiercely as Mr Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) resumed shelling the Barclay Training Centre.

The clashes shattered hopes that Mr Johnson's evacuation

from the country on Friday would spur moves toward ending the month of bloodshed which has destroyed the capital and taken hundreds, possibly thousands of lives.

Instead, the fighting became even more brutal yesterday. Hundreds of people among the 10,000 Liberians who have sought shelter at the United States embassy compound stood on a hill watching the execution of five NPFL fighters.

The throats of the NPFL fighters were slit; one of them had his ears chopped off. A naked boy, who appeared to be about 12 years old, danced around the bodies, waving an

assault rifle above his head in a victory cheer.

Ecomog, the African peace-keeping force, had pulled back. The peace-keeping force entered the fighting earlier yesterday, shooting dead two NPFL militiamen who tried to prevent them from crossing one of the bridges.

The killings infuriated Mr Taylor. In radio contact with his commanders at the scene, the NPFL leader said: "Ecomog authorities will have to address themselves to the shooting incident because this is not the first time peace-keeping troops have behaved like this toward my men."

Poll boosts Congress victory hopes

ARINDAM NAG
Reuter

New Delhi — India's Prime Minister, P V Narasimha Rao, received a welcome boost yesterday when a late poll said his Congress Party would have a slight lead in a hung parliament after a third phase of general elections this week.

The latest poll in the *Times of India* and the *Economic Times* forecast 169 out of 543 seats for the Congress Party, ahead of 165 for the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP).

The Socialist combination of the National Front and the

Left Front is expected to win 145 seats in what now appears to be a cliff-hanger leading to a hung parliament.

"It's interesting to see opinion polls in the media finally supporting us," a senior Congress leader and industry minister, K Karunakaran, said. Various opinion polls published before the elections showed the BJP emerging as the single largest party, although well short of a majority.

Voting took place in about 150 seats on 27 April, and 200 more on 2 May. The next phase is set for 7 May. All but six results should be known by 11 May. Repeat polling was being

held yesterday in 511 polling stations where the voting was marred by violence.

The *Times* poll combined a fresh round of surveying with findings of a previous opinion poll, which had predicted 142 seats for the Congress and 169 for the BJP. It came amidst a growing controversy surrounding Mr Rao's leadership of the party which has ruled India for all but four years since independence.

In a newspaper interview on Saturday, Mr Karunakaran said the Congress Party, recently hit by a spate of defections, would recover its old strength if Mr Rao quit its leadership.

"We will have to find a new party president after the general elections," Mr Karunakaran said.

The party's electoral strategy triggered defections by senior party members, including a former commerce minister, P Chidambaram, a strong advocate of the economic reforms Mr Rao introduced in 1991.

Mr Chidambaram, who broke away over Mr Rao's alliance with Tamil Nadu state's ruling regional party, was quoted as saying that Congress "was in a state of limbo". Analysts expect most former Congressmen to return to the party if Mr Rao resigns as leader.

Workers 'abused' in Cambodia

Phnom Penh (Reuters) — Cambodia's fast-growing garment industry is plagued by poor working conditions, abuse of workers and low pay, a report by an independent non-governmental organisation said.

The organisation said the report was prepared after two months spent studying 13 garment factories and interviewing workers.

Female workers in many of the factories alleged beatings were frequent and managers cheated on salaries, which are paid on a piece rate. "New managers state explicitly that they prefer to hire inexperienced, young girls from the provinces because they are easier to control," the report said.

"There is no official minimum wage in Cambodia. There are no trade unions and no right to bargain. Labour inspectors report they are often barred from entering factories." It said some employees make as little as \$10 (£6) a month.

"There are effectively no occupational health and safety standards, since the relevant articles under the old State of Cambodia law have no provisions for enforcement," the report said.

Women at one factory "referred to the manager as 'Pol Pot'", the report said, in reference to the leader of the 1975-79 Khmer Rouge regime, blamed for the deaths of about 1 million Cambodians.

British general gets old foes together in Bosnia

EMMA DALY
Banja Luka

As cocktails parties go it was unusual. The emerald-green beret worn by Atif Dudakovic of the Bosnian army Fifth Corps was seen amid a crowd gathered at a metal factory in the heartland of his enemies, the city of Banja Luka.

Sadly, his opposite number, Bosnian Serb general, Momir Talic, sent his regrets. But the gathering, rounded off with a parachute display by the Red Devils, was otherwise a roaring success.

The deputy mayor of Banja Luka, local politicians and even a couple from the ruling Serbian Democratic Party, turned up to

drink Pimms and celebrate in the Banja Luka headquarters of Nato's British forces.

Major-General Michael Jackson had moved his sector HQ from the ruins of Gorzki Vakuf, an early casualty of the Muslim-Croat war and a one-bomb town at the best of times, to the northern city of Banja Luka.

This city was once described by the UN as "the heart of darkness," on account of the enthusiasm with which local Serbs pursued a policy of "ethnic cleansing". Ironically, it is now seen as the seat of moderate Serbs who have a constructive interest in implementing the Dayton peace plan.

General Jackson lists his practical reasons for the move

to Banja Luka. It is the only big city in his sector; it allows Nato's implementation force (I-For) to deploy one of its four headquarters in the Srpska Republic; many civilian agencies with which I-For liaises are based in the city; there is an airport. "From now on I shall be putting a fair amount of Deutschmarks into the local economy," the general said.

The High Representative, Carl Bildt, will open a regional office in Banja Luka today. He also has practical reasons. But beyond those there is a political element: those implementing the Dayton plan have been hampered since December by the hard-line Bosnian Serb leadership, which is based

in the mountain village of Pale, near Sarajevo.

There has long been rivalry in the Serb camp between the big city of Banja Luka and the small town of Pale. With the eclipse of Radovan Karadzic, indicted for war crimes, and the loss of the Serb-held suburbs around Sarajevo, which was the justification for making a "capital" in Pale, Banja Luka's leaders seem victorious.

Both the military and civilian authorities here welcome the arrival of General Jackson, despite the fury in Pale. The government there has launched an investigation into who authorised the British move. General Jackson shrugs off the controversy. "It has been made

a political issue," he said. "If they choose to make it a political issue, that's up to them."

The cocktail party was more than a social occasion. "We were quite determined about what we were trying to do," General Jackson said.

"Normality is returning. You can have a drink together for a couple of hours." I-For helicopters ferried in Bosnian leaders from Sarajevo, including Haris Silajdzic, the former prime minister and now leader of a new opposition party. Canadian troops escorted General Dudakovic from his barracks in the city of Bijac.

"Of course I had to wear my green beret in Banja Luka," General Dudakovic gleefully

said. Muslim Bihac was subjected to a three-year siege by the Serbs based in Banja Luka.

"It's humiliating that none of our officers is here," one local Serb said crossly. According to sources in I-For and civilian agencies, the Pale leaders ordered General Talic and his comrades not to attend the party, even though generals Dudakovic and Talic meet frequently and cordially at military commissions chaired by I-For.

As far as the locals are concerned, the deployment of the British in Banja Luka is a good thing. The soldiers have mended roads and other infrastructure, and the I-For base employs around 100 locals and pays them in hard currency.

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Asylum bid: Togo woman's appeal for sanctuary from painful tribal custom divides judiciary

Genital mutilation case tests US courts

JOHN CARLIN
Washington

Fauziya Kasinga found the prospect of genital mutilation understandably appalling. But when she fled her native Togo for America, in the hope of obtaining asylum, she had not reckoned on the less than tender mercies of the United States immigration service.

Ms Kasinga, a well-educated young woman from a well-off Togoese family, was sold by her aunt in matrimony in August 1994 to a thrice-married man three times her age. She was 17. The marriage took place but, according to local Muslim custom, consummation would wait 40 days, the period deemed necessary for her genital scars to heal.

The surgery, usually carried out without anaesthesia by a tribal elder, was due to take place two days after the marriage ceremony. But just in time Ms Kasinga's eldest sister spirited her out of Togo to Ghana. She flew to Düsseldorf, where she says she found employment for two months at the home of a woman she met at the airport. On 17 December 1994 she arrived at New York's Newark airport, having been informed by a Nigerian friend in

Germany that although she lacked the necessary papers, the authorities would look kindly on her plight.

She had been led to believe the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) would be prepared, under the circumstances, to stretch the conventional definition of persecution to grant political asylum.

Instead she was whisked off to a detention centre in New Jersey and promptly strip-searched, the first of many occasions when she was obliged to submit to this indignity during her first year in the US.

She also says she was periodically held in chains, denied sanitary napkins and locked up in an isolation cell. Her claims appeared to be confirmed when an official investigation last summer found guards at the detention centre had been guilty of abusing prisoners. From New Jersey she was transferred to a prison in York, Pennsylvania, before she appeared before an immigration judge in Philadelphia on 25 August last year. The judge, who was rude to the point of being abusive, according to lawyers present, said he found her story "not credible", declared female genital mutilation did not come under the definition



Out of Africa: Ms Kasinga arriving at the appeal board for a hearing on her asylum case

Photograph: AP

of persecution and denied her asylum request.

"I feel empty, mute," she said in an interview with the *New York Times* last month. "I keep asking myself, 'What do I do to deserve such punishment? What did I do?'"

Last week she made her final bid to avoid the fate she believes awaits her back home when she appeared before the Board of Immigration Appeals, the highest immigration tribunal in the US. Her lawyer, Karen Musalo, said the Philadelphia

judge's lack of familiarity with tribal customs in Togo had rendered him unfit to rule on the credibility of Ms Kasinga's story. According to Ms Musalo, a professor of law at George Washington University, her client was seeking to escape from the tyranny of a patriarchal society where she had no one to protect her.

INS lawyers said they wanted to send Ms Kasinga's case back to a lower court and, in general, wished the board to establish new guidelines where-

by in certain narrow circumstances, when it could be clearly determined that a woman would be subjected to the knife if forced to return home, female genital mutilation might warrant granting asylum.

Ms Musalo, on the other hand, heads a team of human rights lawyers seeking to make it legal for all women who fear mutilation, or have already been mutilated, to obtain asylum in the US. Two dozen African countries employ the custom, which involves the

removal of the clitoris to minimise sexual sensation. About 100 million women have been its victims, according to the World Health Organisation.

The 12 members of the immigration appeal board are expected to submit a written ruling during the summer.

Should Ms Kasinga's appeal fail, all may not be lost. She could try crossing the border to Canada, the only country where the prospect of female genital mutilation is considered legitimate grounds for asylum.

IN BRIEF

Corsicans promise to carry on fighting

Ajaccio — A new splinter-group of Corsican separatists said they would fight on for greater autonomy from France, despite an offer by their rivals to disband. About 100 hooded but unarmed separatists told a secret news conference they intended to break away from the "traditional wing" of the outlawed Corsican National Liberation Front (FLNC). At an earlier secret news conference about 20 hooded and heavily-armed separatists from the FLNC's traditional wing said they would end their struggle if the government agreed to autonomy, recognition of the Corsican people, the elimination of the island's national government council and the teaching of the Corsican language in schools. *Reuters*

Hutus killed in Burundi army operation

Bahoro — Burundi's Tutsi-dominated army killed 235 Hutus, mostly women and children, in an operation in central Burundi late last month, humanitarian sources in the area said. They said the army killed the people in Bahoro, a mountainous area, after Hutu rebels killed civilians there. *Reuters*

Terrorists blamed for fires in Bahrain

Manama — Buildings and shops were set ablaze in Bahrain's capital, Manama, in what an official said were "terrorist acts". Two buildings, a music shop and a boutique were badly damaged in the central business district of Manama, and there were at least five fires in other areas. Bahraini officials have blamed previous arson attacks on Shi'ite Muslim protesters. *Reuters*

Crime rate drops for fourth year in US

Washington — The US crime rate fell for the fourth year as murders reported to the police dropped 8 per cent in 1995 from 23,300 in 1994, the FBI said. New York reported 1,170 murders in 1995, down from 1,561 in 1994. Los Angeles had five more killings at 849 last year. Homicides fell in Chicago to 824 from 928 and in Detroit to 475 from 541. *AP*

Japanese start to run short of children

Tokyo — The number of children hit a record low in Japan ever since the government began counting in 1920. As of 1 April, there were 19.87 million below the age of 15, a report said. The figure represents a drop of 320,000 children from last year. The report said children make up 15.8 percent of the population. *AP*

Aznar takes over as Spain's new PM



Madrid — Jose Maria Aznar took the oath of office before King Juan Carlos to become the Prime Minister of Spain's first conservative government in 13 years. In a brief ceremony at the Zarzuela Palace near Madrid, Mr Aznar swore loyalty to the King and the constitution, before he and his wife, Ana, (above) departed for their new official residence. At the royal palace, the outgoing prime minister, Felipe Gonzalez, congratulated Mr Aznar with a handshake and a grin. *AP*

Gondoliers no longer going for a song

Venice — Venice's gondoliers stopped serenading their customers as they steered them through the city's romantic canals because of a dispute over pensions. Fulvio Scarpa, president of the Gondoliers' Association, said his 60-odd members had been asked to contribute to a state pension fund for entertainers because their singing makes them freelance musicians. "We've decided to suspend serenades until our accountants can meet representatives of the entertainers' pension fund to find a solution," he said. *Reuters*

Woman warrior takes on Mugabe's corrupt clique

If credibility is the driving force in a successful political career, Margaret Dongo will travel far. While only in her 30s, she is one of the few politicians who has established her credentials in the blood, sweat and tears of the past and also laid a claim to the (hopefully peaceful) future.

Zimbabwe is still close enough to its guerrilla struggle of the 1970s for a glittering war record to boost political advancement, and Ms Dongo's claim is strong. She left school at the age of 15 and walked several hundred miles into neighbouring Mozambique to sign up as a freedom fighter.

"There were times when we went without food and up to 50 people could die," she recalls. "You could walk for days without food."

Ms Dongo's *nom de guerre* during the war, Tichaona Muhondo, means "We will sort it out on the battlefield."

But soon after independence, she educated herself and became a highly regarded administrator, rising rapidly in the ranks of the party which Robert Mugabe insisted would rule Zimbabwe for ever. It was with Zanu PF's firm backing that she became one of the handful of women who became members of parliament in 1990.

However, while independent Zimbabwe has paid lip service to the sacrifices of those who fought for that independence, practical help has been less forthcoming.

"When we came home, things were not better," Ms Dongo explains. "The situa-

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Margaret Dongo

tion worsened for the ex-combatants after independence. Few were lucky and many remained bitter.

Ms Dongo first achieved national prominence when, as a founding member of the War Veterans' Association, she pledged her support to the ex-combatants and battled hard for compensation for the many who came back destitute.

Mr Mugabe himself endured 10 years in jail under Ian Smith. But in power, he has been accused of trying to hijack the con-

cept of heroism for his own ends. Ms Dongo's first-hand experience of the struggle for independence remains for her a yardstick by which to measure the hypocrisy of the leadership.

If Ms Dongo has old-fashioned credibility, she has also established her credentials for the new era that many Zimbabweans hope for, in which those who have governed the country for personal gain will be finally removed. She has an impressive record of opposition to this class.

Her outspokenness after her election as a Zanu PF MP resulted in her fall from grace, and Zanu PF's aged heavyweights opposed her attempt to stand as the party's candidate in last year's parliamentary elections. With the support of her

Sunningdale constituents she decided to go it alone and stood as an independent.

Despite a large and loyal following she lost to a Zanu-PF-backed candidate. Confident of the strength of her support, she decided to try to expose the irregularities and rigging of the electoral system.

She became the first person to challenge the validity of election results in the High Court and in a landmark decision, the vote was annulled. After a new vote last year she emerged victorious against the party of which she was once a stalwart. Her record of protecting the rights of women, children and the poor helped her secure a place as the first woman in Zimbabwe's history to win a parliamentary seat as an independent.

Reyhana Masters-Smith

This week in

THE INDEPENDENT

This week and every week, Section Two has a new look, with more pages, new features, a daily radio column and an expanded listings section providing Britain's most comprehensive daily guide to going out.



on Monday

A new regular section, Family Life, that deals with the interests and problems of parents and children. Julie Myerson's column also focuses on home life. Plus: a new series - Do we need? - which challenges the icons of modern Britain. And, every Monday, unrivalled coverage of the expanding world of information technology in our Network pull-out section.

and in Sport

A 24-page tabloid section with all the action from the weekend's sporting action. Plus: the Monday Interview in which a leading figure comes under the microscope, an unbeatable results service, gossip, speculation and fact from behind the scenes and the best in sports photography.

on Tuesday

How well are you? The first in a three-part series which examines healthy living in Britain in the

Nineties. Also on Tuesday, fashion, architecture, visual arts and media.

on Wednesday

Bridget Jones's diary continues to chronicle the encounters and exquisite embarrassments in the life of Britain's most-read spinster. Plus: the midweek travel section, your money, finance

and law. In our back pages, Martin Newell, Britain's leading rock poet, and Neil Karker, one of the country's funniest cartoonists, present their views of the modern world.

on Thursday

All our regular features, including Virginia Ironside's Dilemmas, John Walsh's column, plus film, education

and graduate plus. In the back pages, William Harrison's history of the world in 104 1/2 inches

on Friday

24Seven - a new 20-page pull-out and keep entertainment and listings section, including a complete day-by-day planner for the week ahead, plus

seven-day TV, radio and satellite listings, ticket offers and information on the week's highlights. Plus: eight pages of pop and classical music

Your job can be safe again. Here's how

The ruling free-trade orthodoxy on the economy is wrong. The time has come for protectionism, argues **Edward Luttwak**

Pat Buchanan's season of success was brief, but respectable opinion in America and beyond is still shell-shocked by the appeal of his heretical economic ideas (protectionism to lift wages). For these days there is only one economic orthodoxy, taught by almost all academic economists, happily celebrated by Wall Street and corporate chiefs, and fully accepted by Democrats, by Republicans and by most European political parties.

The ruling orthodoxy holds that the US economy is a huge success, propelled by the "New Titans" of the information age: the legendary twins Microsoft and Intel, and their lesser emulators - Apple, Novell, Cisco, Oracle, Bay Net, Sun Microsystems and many more. Most of them did not exist 20 years ago. Today, the combined value of their shares greatly exceeds that of the giants of old-style manufacturing: General Motors, Ford, Dupont and Kodak. In the course of rising to their present heights, the New Titans have made several billionnaires among early investors, while very substantially increasing the wealth of a larger number of shareholders. That is a recipe for a great deal of optimism.

Every principle of the ruling orthodoxy is defended by citing the success of the New Titans. Free trade is justified by citing the success of American hi-tech exports in general and of software in particular. By contrast, the net loss of 1.4 million jobs (according to the very lowest estimate of free-trade enthusiasts) caused by the chronic excess of US imports over exports is held to be of small account, because these are said to be little more than dead-end jobs, in declining industries.

Deregulation, most recently of telecommunications, is similarly justified by the wonderful opportunities it opens up for the New Titans, as well as for the new-style "lean and mean" telephone and cable television companies that promise to open up the electronic highway. In the process, the existing regional telephone companies, "the Baby Bells", will be swept away unless they become drastically more efficient. True, the Secretary of Labour, Robert Reich, and other members of the Clinton administration have suddenly taken to criticising the mass firings by big corporations in general and by AT&T in particular (40,000 initially budgeted for, later reduced to 18,000). But at the same time, the Clinton administration enthusiastically advocated the Telecommunications Deregulation and Competition Act of 1995, which allows regional telephone companies, long-distance carriers (AT&T, MCI, Sprint and more) and cable television companies alike to offer local and long-distance television and other data over wires without restriction. The regional telephone companies will therefore have to do exactly what AT&T is doing, that is:

fire tens of thousands of employees to become more automated and more efficient. The Clinton administration is deploring with sentimental verbiage the consequences it is striving to bring about.

Above all, the success of the New Titans is invoked to argue that no real harm is being inflicted by corporate "downsizing" - the drastic reduction in the number of administrative and clerical employees, mainly because of software-driven automation. According to the ruling orthodoxy, readily echoed by all and sundry in America and beyond, downsizing means that some Americans are being forced to move to better jobs - GM may fire you but Microsoft will hire you, and Microsoft jobs are better.

Yet it is enough to look at the employment rolls of the New Titans as opposed to their share values, to see that Buchanan's pessimism is right and the ruling orthodoxy wrong. Microsoft and Intel had a combined total of 48,100 employees at the last count as opposed to 325,300 employed by Ford, more than half of them in the US. In fact all the New Titans listed above have a combined grand total of 128,000 employees, less than half the number employed by Ford alone worldwide, one third fewer than those employed by Ford in the US.

There are many other New Titans outside the computer and software industry who have also risen from nothing, including such diverse companies as Southwest Airlines, Nike shoes, Charles Schwab (the megabroker, Genetech and other bio-tech companies, computer hardware manufacturers such as Seagate, Compaq and more. Still, all of them together do not employ as many Americans as Ford alone, let alone General Motors (721,000 at the last count, half in the US).

The consequences of these numbers are enormous. What would happen to the US if the vision of Bill Gates of Microsoft and vice-president Al Gore of an all hi-tech economy were to be realised? The Dow Jones Index would no doubt reach 10,000, or perhaps 20,000, making more billionnaires. In the meantime, the number of well-paid jobs in the US economy would decline to a fraction of present levels.

With companies such as GM and Kodak, that equation could not work, because entities that sell mass-consumption goods mostly in the domestic market cannot prosper if most of their prospective consumers are unemployed or employed in poorly paid service jobs. But the New Titans sell their products worldwide to the elites and can afford to ignore this basic axiom.

It follows that the happy-equilibrium interpretation of downsizing is totally wrong: if GM fires you, Microsoft will not hire you. One, you are not trained and Microsoft has no use for uneducated blue-collar slots spoilt by too much pay for yesterday's assembly-line jobs. Two, if you are trained, Microsoft will not hire you either - mailing out pre-packaged software is just not that labour-intensive.



The road to unemployment: Ford employs more than twice as many people as the new hi-tech companies put together Photograph: AP

Information technology, in other words, is not a job-creator but a job "sink": while it destroys clerical and, increasingly, administrative jobs by the million, it provides relatively few jobs of its own - and those mainly in the US. Elsewhere, in unfortunate lands with weak software industries, it merely destroys jobs.

It is above all engineers that such industry needs, and yet between 1968 and 1995 the median annual salary of engineers with 10 years' experience declined 13 per cent in constant dollars to \$52,900. Evidently there is an over-supply. So much for the current nostrum of a hi-tech education for all: to turn out more engineers would merely add to their over-supply.

It is true that jobs in retailing, health services and small businesses of the dog-washing-in-your-own-home variety keep increasing in the US, so much so that the official unemployment rate has been falling in spite of all the downsizing. But this is small consolation. As everyone knows, the average earnings of "non-supervisory" employees - 77.5 million out of 114 million employed Americans - have been declining for years (from \$8.40 per hour in 1978 to \$7.41 in 1994 in constant 1982 dollars) because so many Americans now work in poorly paid service jobs.

The secret of the American economy's much envied ability to create jobs is no mystery: it is easy enough to employ people when they are so cheap to hire, so easy to fire. It is not just the likes of Wal-Mart (434,000 employees), K-Mart (358,000), Sears

(403,000) and McDonald's (177,000) that pay very little as compared to General Motors or Dupont: banks, too, are lousy employers. The average earnings of the mass of ordinary, "non-supervisory" employees in the financial sector - some five million in 1995 - are below \$8 per hour, only slightly more than in 1970 (\$7.64) in constant dollars and much less than GM pays its assembly workers.

That is one of the results of "turbocharged capitalism", the combined effect of rapid technological change, the retreat of state controls and globalisation. By accelerating structural change in the economy,

ful success of odd-ball candidates like Perot and Buchanan, the impossible is coming to pass: in a nation where market-worship is the true national religion, where the prime victims of turbocharged capitalism are even more anti-government than its leading beneficiaries, it is beginning to be sensed, however vaguely, that there are no remedies, other than political remedies, for increasing income and wealth inequality.

We have not yet had a one-time only wealth-tax candidate in the US, even though the top 2 per cent of households have been the beneficiaries of more than 100 per cent

forced to buy more expensive and/or inferior US-made goods instead of being able to choose from the world's most competitive output. American manufacturing employees would gain greatly because the production of those more expensive US goods behind tariff walls would do wonders for their wages by increasing demand for their labour. Of course US exports would also be reduced, because even if other countries did not retaliate by raising trade barriers, their ability to buy US goods and services would decline.

By contrast, more prosperous Americans would lose at both ends: first because they consume imports disproportionately, and second, because they now have the lion's share of the benefits of globalisation. Buchanan's proposal to stop immigration was greatly ridiculed, but it would have raised the incomes of the poorest Americans. Ironically, the urban black underclass, a group most unlikely to vote for Buchanan, would have gained the most. If the hard-working Mexican and Central American immigrants, both legal and illegal, who now work as gardeners, maids, cleaners and manual labourers, were kept out, those jobs would once again be available for the least-skilled Americans. As of now, these particular Americans are simply unemployed, or else employed in the bottom rungs of the crime industry, at very great cost to the US, which is suffering a permanent infatuation by unemployed and unemployable black youths.

When the Great Depression of the Thirties ravaged the lives of people in all parts of the world sufficiently developed to partake of the international economy, almost all

bankers and academic economists were in agreement that the only remedy was to reduce government expenditure. We now know that the exact opposite was the case. In the absence of a new political economy of redistribution, if not re-regulation, able to confront today's turbocharged capitalism and specifically its impoverishment of 80 per cent of working middle classes, the US may yet end up with Buchananism, with or without Buchanan as its protagonist.

So far, mainstream Democrats and Republicans, like the established political parties of Western Europe, have completely failed to respond to the acute sense of personal economic insecurity that afflicts so many of their electors. Instead they promise more growth thanks to the magic of a yet more dynamic economy. While centre and centre-right parties in most countries now contradict themselves by preaching both unchanging "family values" and dynamic economic change, centre-left and leftist parties offer both more state-assisted and dynamic economic change. But what most people in the US, as in Europe, want is not the possibility of better jobs or higher incomes thanks to economic growth but security for the jobs and incomes they already have.

People who are employed and who are earning, perhaps very well, but who fear for their economic future, have no use for political parties that want to tax away more of their uncertain incomes in order to assist the unemployed, and to feed the inefficient bureaucracies that stand between them and the assisted.

A vast segment of the political spectrum is thus left vacant. In American politics, that was the space briefly occupied during the 1992 election year by the caprices of Ross Perot and later by Buchanan. There was nothing specifically American about Buchanan's message. Just as turbocharged capitalism is a global phenomenon, so is the reaction it has evoked: the neo-Communist electoral victories in Hungary, Poland and Russia, the French riots and strikes, the winning "no" vote in Italy's retail liberalisation referendum, even Carl Bildt's defeat in Sweden's last general election - all derive from the same causes as Buchananism.

If a new political economy cannot emerge to tame the new force, populism in many different local forms may well come to dominate American and European politics. In all cases, it would have to promise more personal economic security to the broad masses of office workers, shopkeepers, industrial workers and government employees now threatened.

The writer is director of Geo Economics at the Centre for International Studies in Washington. This piece is an edited version of a longer article in the current issue of the "London Review of Books".

People with jobs have no use for parties that want to tax away more of their uncertain incomes to help the unemployed

turbocharged capitalism rewards agility as much as competence, penalising ordinary working stiff who cannot smartly jump to something better when their jobs are eliminated or downgraded by technically induced organisational change, imports or deregulation. When all must run fast if only to stay in place, a few will run much faster than that but most will fall behind.

The ruling orthodoxy no longer persuades in part because another hit of the orthodoxy calls for monetary stringency and high interest rates to slow growth as soon as it accelerates to prevent inflation. The US economy has grown a great deal since 1978, but the earnings of seven out of 10 Americans have declined. Very, very slowly, thanks to the fir-

of the country's economic growth during the past quarter of a century, but we have had Buchanan. His presidential campaign came to stand for what is in effect state intervention against turbocharged capitalism, to his own surprise no doubt. As against a Microsoft America, whose gross national product would be huge but whose well-paid employees would be very few, Buchanan's protectionist America would have a smaller gross national product but a far more prosperous base of clerical and industrial employees, the "middle class" of contemporary American discourse.

If imports were reduced by Buchanan's high tariffs, all Americans would suffer some loss as consumers, because they would be

DIARY

The poet in football boots

Poets and novelists increasingly feel it incumbent upon them to talk about soccer when they're not writing about it, so it's only fair that those involved in soccer should start to see themselves as men of letters. I see that Paul Gascoigne will be signing copies of his authorised biography, *Gazza*, at Dilsons on Thursday in what

breathlessly announces is his "first ever book signing". It's quite easy, Paul. Hold the pen, don't kick it, and smile at the recipient. Avoid head-butting.

Anyway, it should be a snap for the boy. I see he has joined Jimmy Hill, whose versifying was reported in this column last week, in committing his thoughts on the great game, life and employer-employee relations to verse in a new book *Over The Moon* in aid of the British Sports Association for the Disabled.

Gazza's effort starts: "Now Mel and Len both work for me both working day and night one's an accountant, one's a lawyer making sure I'm all right."

Don't give up the day job just yet. Neither should John Motson - at least not for poetry. He offers a limerick, which comes as close to scanning as Hoddle came to staying at Chelsea:

"There was a young player named Sleeper

Whose dream was to be a goalkeeper He jumped up so high That his head hit the sky

And next he met the Grim Reaper."

But these poets are temperamental types, sometimes willing under the passions and anxieties that rage in their breasts. This was evident yesterday on Sky Sport when studio guest Gazza was asked whose shoes of the relegation candidates he would prefer to be in. "None of

them," the versifier replied. "I'd rather be here in the studio than any of them bastards." Roll on the cricket season.

Bookish bookies

The ever-increasing links between literature and sport had me perusing the betting odds for the £25,000 NCR book prize, Britain's major award for non-fiction, as I sauntered through Ladbrokes and William Hill over the weekend. I explored the bringing together of bookies and book prizes, and hope we will soon

see John McCrirk of Channel 4 Racing live on the interminable prize ceremonies by signalling the tie tac odds at the dinners - 10-1 on newly capped teeth for Martin Amis etc.

But while both betting shops seemed to agree completely on horseracing, football and snooker odds, they were poles apart at the weekend on the literary form. Ladbrokes has Simon Schama's *Landscape and Memory* as 6-4 favourite, while William Hill makes it 5-1 outsider of four. Hill makes Eric Lomax's *The Railway Man* hot favourite at 5-4, though it's little fancied third of four at 5-2 with Ladbrokes.

What's been going on? Alas, the odds setters have made the cardinal error of becoming too involved with the sport to make a clear-headed judgement. As Paul Austin of Ladbrokes says: "It took me longer than usual to set the odds because I found myself rather absorbed in the books."

Fun on the viola

The viola player has long been the butt of jokes by other members of the string section if not the whole orchestra, for reasons best known to musicians. Specialist classical music journals used to run regular viola jokes. And I see that there is now even a viola jokes page on the Internet. It contains such Wildean moments as "Why did the viola player marry the accordionist? Upward mobility."

"What is the range of a viola? As far as you can kick it." How can you tell when a violinist is playing out of tune? The bow is moving." What is worrying for viola players is that the Internet site has been visited by over 15,000 people. What exactly have they done to make so many enemies? I seek enlightenment, preferably accompanied by a few more jokes.

Cheating art

Bleary-eyed MPs waiting for the early morning bus to or from the Commons might suffer a few palpitations on seeing the new poster campaign. They can relax... I think. In menacing print, it warns: "We're picking out the cheats in Westminster." If they rub their eyes, they will see that it's an ad from Westminster City Council, cracking down on benefit fraud.

Eagle Eye

NEWSPAPERS SUPPORT RECYCLING

Recycled paper made up 34.5% of the raw material for UK newspapers in 1995.

Source - Pulp & Paper Information Centre.

THE INDEPENDENT

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Qana: the guilty must be punished

When it was first claimed at the United Nations that the Israelis had deliberately shelled the UN compound at Qana in Lebanon, it seemed almost unbelievable. Yet the UN's investigation into the incident and the accumulation of evidence since backs up the claim. It seems increasingly probable that the Israeli defence forces knew of the presence of refugees in the camp, knew where their shells were landing, and knew that innocent people were being killed. This is not the same as "collateral damage", that much-abused phrase to describe the death of the innocent in the pursuit of the guilty.

The UN report on the incident is also thought to conclude that Hizbollah members had been using the camp as a refuge, after they had set off rockets aimed at Israeli soldiers. Israel may say that there were guerrillas in the camp, and that it was them, not the civilians who were the target. But more than 100 civilians died when the shells exploded over the compound. Far from seeking to avoid this, the Israeli army seems to have calculated that it was an acceptable loss. That typifies the cynical logic that guided Operation Grapes of Wrath from start to finish.

Israel's most recent assault on Lebanon has invited an incident of this kind from the start, and the 100 who died at Qana are by no means the only innocent civilian casualties of the exercise. By relying on bombardment from artillery, gunboats and aircraft, and abstaining from the commitment of ground troops, Israel left itself with only the bluntest of weapons. Hizbollah is a guerrilla organisation and cannot be targeted in the same way as the infrastructure of a state.

The incident has ramifications far beyond Lebanon, beyond the Middle East. The United Nations is being taken for a fool again, treated as a dupe. Just as, in Bosnia, the idea of "safe havens" came to be nothing more than a bitter joke, so in Lebanon the UN's humanitarian mission has been mocked in a deadly and cynical way. The concept that the UN can provide shelter for refugees is an important one. It should not be the target of artillery attack. The UN report on the incident must be published, even if it is embarrassing for Israel and the United Nations.

Heads must roll. Someone at a high level in the Israeli military was responsible for this operation, and to show that it is serious about responding to this incident, the Israeli government must find out who and remove him.

That, in itself, is not sufficient. The Qana massacre results directly from a much bigger problem, that of the Israeli attitude towards Lebanon. Israel has the right to defend itself, but that is not the same thing as treating Lebanon as an artillery range, or as a place to prove the virility of the Peres government.

The killings at Qana, indeed the Israeli assault upon Lebanon, have solved nothing. In an interview with the *Independent* on Sunday, Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah, Hizbollah's leader, has committed the organisation to further attacks on Israeli targets. The "peace" that was reached is in effect little more than a code of conduct for an ongoing and bloody war. Hizbollah's rocket attacks on Israeli civilians are, of course, unacceptable; but until Israel accepts UN resolution 425 and withdraws from Lebanon, no lasting peace is possible.

Men have the right to be protected

To paraphrase Lionel Bart, what's the matter with men today? Part of the answer has to do with changing patterns of men's and women's employment and reward. According to new figures from the Equal Opportunities Commission, more than half the complaints it received last year about sexual discrimination in the search for jobs were from men – a historic reversal in the battle of the sexes.

This seems only to compound other recent prophecies of doom for the male. He has been assailed by falling sperm counts and loss of libido. He has lost his role as father and helpmeet and finds it hard meekly to partner dynamic, go-ahead and demanding women. Domestic reality is a lot less dramatic than the gender soothsayers would have us believe. None the less, something is happening at those deeper levels of consciousness and sentiment that pollsters find hard to plumb.

That something is not, however, going to happen quickly, nor ought it to compromise the broad principles on which our political and legal systems work, at the heart of which is equal treatment, equal opportunity. One of the paradoxes, indeed, of the Conservative era that may now be passing is how little the government even attempted to turn back the tide of tribunal and court judgments based on equality.

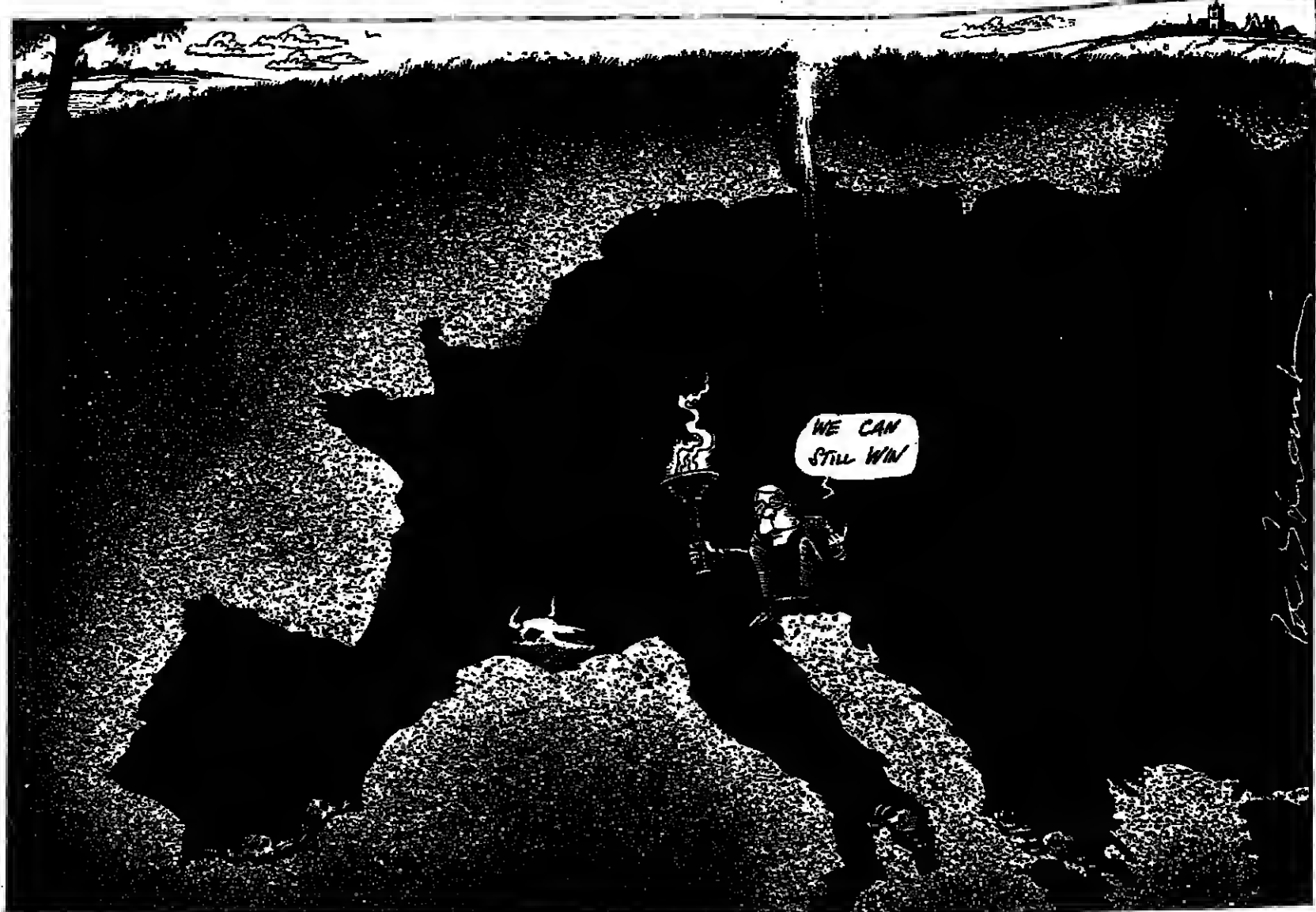
The Equal Opportunities Commission survived several cuts of quangoes. It has a lot to be modest about, both as an analyst of changing employment and a litigant. Recently the EOC has functioned as a sort of subaltern to the European

Court of Justice. The principles of equality laid down in the Treaty of Rome and the Single European Act have powered the broad movement towards equal treatment against which the British government has chafed but then buckled.

Now it seems the EOC is to start doing more for men. This must be right, because the principles of anti-discrimination and equality transcend gender. Men have every right to relief to the commission for relief. Unfairness should be tackled wherever it surfaces.

But no one should mistake friction in the service sector (the movement of men into functions that throughout most of the 20th century have been "women's work") with an end to the relative position of men and women in either the work or domestic spheres. The proportion of men and women between 20 and 60 who are at work is now broadly the same. But men's earnings remain higher. Participation of men in domestic work remains slight. Many women work outside the home and sustain higher burdens of child care and domestic management.

Individual men – though far fewer than some reports allege – are having to learn to live with women in power in the home and at work. The longer-run ramifications of that are fascinating and radical, but they remain just that – longer run. Some women – taking their cues from men – will abuse their new-found power and their men may wilt as a result. The EOC and the courts are obliged to protect men in such circumstances with as much enthusiasm and energy as they have women.



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Why children must wait for their holidays

Sir: Polly Toynbee (1 May) asks "Are we being over-cautious?" by suspending our holiday operation for one summer, in order to review all our child protection policies and procedures. I have to answer with an emphatic no.

There is no doubt that there will be many hundreds of disappointed children this summer. The step we have taken is not the easy option but it is the only responsible course of action to take. We have not "fallen victim to a panic about child abuse" but are responding to the advice of child protection professionals who dedicate their working lives to the safety of children.

It is true that nothing is ever 100 per cent risk free. However, we can ensure that as far as is humanly possible everything is being done to minimise the risk. A comprehensive review in partnership with professionally-qualified and experienced consultants will achieve this. The result will be that we will continue next year in a strengthened position with improved safeguards.

Our volunteers, although naturally disappointed at this year's outcome, support our actions wholeheartedly and are ready to give their loyal and continuing support in 1997. Above all else it is the safety and wellbeing of the children that is of paramount importance to us all.

Bos McKeown
Children's Country
Holidays Fund
London SE1

Sir: Polly Toynbee states that "The age of innocence is dead, killed by suspicion". This worthy but woolly article criticises the temporary closure of the Children's Country Holidays Fund. The claim is made that this response to the identification of convicted child abusers in its ranks will be a "hitter loss" to children already neglected and abused. Further, it is argued that selection

procedures within the charity are already felt to be as "water-tight as possible".

These procedures are obviously not watertight at all. They have allowed further abuse of already vulnerable children to take place whilst under the protection of this charity. The position step of closing down operations and focusing on improving its selection methods should be applauded. Such action can only be taken as symptomatic of a responsible organisation.

As far as the voluntary workers who are "disrupted" at this disruption to their plans are concerned, they are faced with a choice. Either they risk exposing children who have already experienced distress and disadvantage to more of the same, or they postpone existing arrangements. I am sure that few would find the decision difficult.

Dr Patricia Hind JP
Lecturer in Psychology, City University
Chairman, Family Panel
London SE24

Scargill and the tide of history

Sir: Gone are the days when Arthur Scargill could incite anything more than mild amusement from a Labour audience. His article (2 May) symbolised a career built on historical revisionism and an ostrich-style approach to policy. He argues that new Labour's changes to its constitution and policies have meant an abandonment of socialist values and working-class needs.

The Fabian Society helped draft the old Clause IV, in 1917, not as a timeless definition of socialist values but as a reflection of the political debate of the day. No matter how well written, it can hardly come as a surprise that by 1995 it was badly in need of reform.

But abandoning the needs of working people is a far more serious charge. Yet it is a charge which Arthur would have made of Labour in 1966, 1976 and 1986. So it should come as no surprise that he makes it today, in 1996.

The reality is that on the economy, on employment, on health and on so many other things Labour's policies will radically improve the lot of working people. It is a shame, but no revelation, that Arthur cannot welcome that.

Ian Corfield
Director of Research,
The Fabian Society
London SW1

Sir: Unlike Kevin Barron MP (letter, 3 May) I welcome the formation of the Socialist Labour Party. The major parliamentary parties are all either fully or mostly committed to the

"market" solution for our society. The first-past-the-post voting system condemns people to only two or three choices. At the moment those choices are all on the right.

Socialism is a distinctive political philosophy just as Liberalism is and deserves to have a political party to put forward its ideas. Just as there were those of us that decided trying to mix Liberalism with Social Democracy was like trying to mix oil and water, producing a political sludge, so it was inevitable that the new Labour home that has been created for Tories was not a place for people of principle.

I look forward to the real debates between the Liberal, Green and Socialist Labour parties as a refreshing change from the stale media-orientated debates of the Tories, Labour and Lib Dems.

Paul Macdonald
Campaign Director
The Liberal Party
London SW1

Sir: I hope that everyone who read Kevin Barron's letter knocking Arthur Scargill took the time to read Stephen Bevan's article on "downshifting" on the next page. While Mr Barron called Socialist Labour plans to restructure work patterns "demandism without common sense", Mr Bevan showed US companies and the NatWest Bank in the process of changes not a million miles away structurally from SLP policy.

CA Banks
London SE6

De Beauvoir: no ordinary housewife

Sir: Simone de Beauvoir, quoted by Peter Popham in his article (30 April) about housewives, is an unlikely role model for many women. She had no children, no husband and no real household to run. She grew up in a bourgeois milieu with at least one servant to do the domestic drudgery. When the family circumstances changed and they no longer had their maid she complained about her allotted daily task of emptying the rubbish bins. During the Second World War, it is quite clear from her autobiography, the austerity that pushed her into making pots of soup was quite a novelty to her.

She rented rooms and lived alone for much of her life.

Her lofty appraisal of women's roles is unrealistic. "Woman is not called upon to build a better world." Really? If women forsook their household drudgery we would soon have high levels of disease and squalor. Let us stop disparaging housework and recognise its contribution to a healthy and orderly society. The more men become involved in running households the sooner the wages for housework campaign will become a reality.

Maura Pemberton
Waterlooville, Hampshire

Rodent recipe

Sir: The householders and foresters of the Chilterns threatened by a plague of edible dormice (report, 4 May) might take comfort from the fact that previous introductions of this gourmet delicacy have not been successful. The bones of these rodents have been found in Roman contexts during excavations in York and South Shields, but obviously the environment of Roman Britain was not to their liking.

Should they not die out naturally this time, perhaps the problem could be solved by promoting them as the next fashionable cooking ingredient following the cranberries of last winter. Apicius, the Delia Smith of the Roman world, recommended stuffing them with a seasoned mixture of pork and pine-nuts and then baking them.

Hilary Cool
West Bridgford,
Nottinghamshire

Laptop menace

Sir: A laptop in every satchel (report 30 April). Isn't there something wrong with priorities here? Literacy and numeracy surely should come first.

Christine Smith
London, E1

Vicar at bay

Sir: You refer (in brief, 2 May) to Jonathan Blake as "the country's first freelance vicar". According to my dictionary the word "vicar" is derived from the Latin *vicarius*, meaning a substitute (originally for a religious house, and later for the bishop). Since Mr Blake is quite clearly a substitute for nothing except religious orthodoxy and common sense, perhaps you should use the term "renegade vicar" when referring to him in future.

The Rev David Brookes
Vicar of Hollingbourne & Hucking with Leeds & Broomfield
Maidstone,
Kent

Cheerful charity

Sir: Comic Relief may or may not be inefficient (report 29 April), but fun-raising is certainly more cheerful than being intimidated into giving money by being confronted with distressing pictures of destitute people. Why should giving be accompanied by doom and gloom?

Peter Stockill
Middlesbrough

Welcome to Jane Austen, the car park

Determined to get out and about today on your Bank Holiday Monday treat, but still not quite sure where to go? Here are some of the countless attractions on offer!

Railtrack Engine Boot Sale
For the first time Railtrack is opening all its rail depots this holiday Monday to have the sale of the century! Yes, you can actually turn up and buy Railtrack shares over the counter! Come to a Railtrack engine boot sale and buy things like, well, Railtrack shares. That's all that's on sale, actually – Railtrack shares. But just think of the advantages, because if you buy Railtrack shares NOW you can GIVE them back to the Labour government later to show your faith in public transport! That, as a matter of fact, is probably the only way left for Railtrack to sell its shares, hence its new slogan: "Please Please PLEASE buy Railtrack shares now so that you can give them back to the Labour government later..."

The Sense and Sensibility Heritage Tour
Last year's tourist attraction sensation was the Making of Pride and Prejudice Heritage Tour, whereby millions of people who had never read the book went to see the places



MILES KINGSTON

where the TV series was filmed on which was based the best-selling book, "The Places Where Pride and Prejudice Were Filmed and Where to Park Nearby". Now the same treatment is being given to the Oscar-laden "Sense and Sensibility", adapted by Emma Thompson, and you can join the queues to see the actual place where Emma Thompson first had the idea for adapting *Sense and Sensibility*, etc, etc. The resulting book, "The Sense and Sensibility Heritage Tour Guide", is being turned into a six-part series by the BBC for next autumn.

Rare Cow Farms, off A-roads everywhere
Come and see cows while they still exist is the message from many farmers who have decided to turn their dairy herds into tourist attractions while they still have them, much as

they did with their elm trees in the days of Mad Elm Disease. A few of the more desperate ones are advertising their farms as SYO (slaughter your own).

The Conservative Chicken Run
This is a new cross-country route which the organisers hope will come to rival the Cotswold Way and the Devon Coastal Path. It follows the traditional routes taken by Tory MPs as they flee from their present marginal seats to adopt safe ones in the Tory heartlands, followed by their wives, children, accountants and mistresses. There are many different byways, and they all criss-cross the legendary Lamont trail, the twisting, winding path taken by Norman Lamont in an effort to find a local constituency party that would accept him, or, indeed, remember who he was.

The Mohamed al-Fayed Joke Factory Open Day
Recently the estimable owner of Harrods bought another ancient British institution, the corpse of *Punch* magazine. He has decided to revive it and start it going again this autumn. Rumours that Mr al-Fayed had no sense of humour were silenced when he humorously appointed as new editor Mr Peter McKay, a man with no

known connection with humour or, indeed, editing. In the newly instituted Mohamed al-Fayed Joke Factory Mr McKay has been instructed to come up with some new wacky ideas, and after a long pause he has just come up with his first – the notion that Mohamed al-Fayed should start his own political party. Much to McKay's embarrassment, al-Fayed has taken this idea seriously and has gone ahead with it, not realising that it was McKay's way of satirising James Goldsmith. Now the Joke Factory is open over the weekend to see if McKay can come up with a second joke, or, indeed, improve on his first one.

The Bath/Leicester Trial of the Century
Queuing has already started for the so-called Pilkington Cup Case, in which Leicester Rugby Club are asking the High Court to overturn the last-minute penalty try awarded against them at Twickenham on Saturday, thus depriving them of a grindingly dull victory. Many more people will be queuing up to ask for the money back for their tickets, as they paid to see a game of rugby and not a dreary re-enactment of the more boring bits of trench warfare from the First World War.

What the new agreement between the United States and Israel was to cover – according to the Tel Aviv newspaper *Ha'aretz* (9 April, 1996) – was a five-year, \$500m collaboration in anti-ballistic missile systems (including the Israeli-US-funded Arrow and Thoma systems). There would be co-ordination of efforts against "the proliferation of non-conventional weapons" and equipment would be provided for Israel to receive "real-time" US surveillance data (HIT).

Given that the Middle East Disarmament Forum that was to work on how to establish the Middle East as a nuclear etc, weapon-free zone, concurrently with the "peace process", has apparently been allowed to collapse, what is on the way – or at least what is being promoted by some – is a totally armed Israel able to target any opponent it chooses from behind the safety of its anti-missile defences.

All this does indeed lack "credibility". Still, there is too much political momentum behind it to think that it will just go away. Lady Thatcher was backing all this at Fulton; the Republican Congress is backing it; the administration trying to talk Nato into buying into it.

Elizabeth Young
London W2

Why the new Chief Justice will say No, Minister

Lord Taylor refused a cosy relationship between government and the judiciary. His successor will not revive it, argues Jeffrey Jowell

It used to be that the prime task of a Chief Justice was to strike fear in the breast of the criminal classes. The chief could be confidently relied on not to be soft on sentencing and never to argue with the government – at least not in public.

The reign of Lord Taylor who, sadly, resigned as Chief Justice due to ill health last Friday, was marked by his willingness to challenge the wisdom of government ministers. Will his successor be similarly inclined?

One of Lord Taylor's predecessors in the late 1950s, Lord Parker of Waddington, proclaimed that judges should be the "handmaidens of the administration", a statement that the Home Secretary would not doubt applaud. Lord Taylor would not; witness his reluctance to accept the Home Secretary's right to compel judges to impose sentences of a certain length upon offenders, irrespective of the particular facts of a case. In his Dimsdaley Lecture, delivered shortly after he was

appointed, he put his weight firmly behind those wanting to see the European Convention of Human Rights incorporated in our law.

Have today's judges become too "political"? Judicial review has been the fastest growing area of the com-

Some critics see judicial review as the illegitimate transfer of power

mon law. Even where ministers are allocated broad discretionary powers by Parliament – to act as they "think fit", or to introduce legislation in their own time, the courts have held that this broad discretion must be exercised in a way that accords with the law's purpose; that the procedures of implementation must be fair, and that

the decisions reached must not be unreasonable or irrational.

Chief Justice Parker would not have approved. Nor do some modern critics, who view the growth of judicial review as the illegitimate transfer of power from elected representatives to unelected judges.

Which model is the correct one for new Chief Justice? The old-style judge, who could be relied upon to support the views of the powers that be, or the modern judge, who insists that the implementation of legislation follow a set of principles of good and fair administration?

The answer to that question lies in the heart of the unwritten, and therefore evolving, British constitution. Judges apply the accepted notions of constitutional propriety of their own times. In the time of Lord Parker, the prime constitutional principle was parliamentary sovereignty. Democracy required that the government's will should be followed to the letter, and that administrative discretion be

unconstrained, irrespective of any unfair consequences on the individual.

The present generation of judges are applying a different concept of democracy, one that requires government decisions to be sanctioned not simply by the majority of the voters at the time of elections. Democracy goes deeper than that. It also requires government to be willing to listen to those affected by official decisions taken between elections. And it requires officials to treat all citizens fairly and equally.

This does not mean that the present generation of judges are simply making decisions based upon their own ideological preferences. The discipline of proper judicial reasoning does not easily permit that. Judges are not equipped to interfere in matters of policy or the allocation of social resources.

The picture presented by the critics of modern judicial review – that ideological judges are upsetting the workings of effective governance – is

therefore incorrect, not least because they choose to ignore the fact that, in judicial review cases, judges still come down on the side of government more often than on the side of the applicant challenging the official decision.

Take Lord Taylor himself. His decisions against government have been widely publicised. They include his groundbreaking assertions that even the prerogative power, formerly unchallengeable, could be judicially reviewed (a case involving the refusal of a passport). And in a case involving telephone-tapping, he made it clear that he would not shrink from contradicting the Home Office even where it raised the plea of "national security" (a plea formerly enough to induce deference in even the most independent judge).

But Lord Taylor refused to strike down the Government's regulations under which a number of arms dealers were prosecuted for trading with Iraq. That case received little publicity. Had it gone the other way, the

Government may have had even more difficulty in surviving the publication of the Scott report.

While by no means opposing ministers at every turn, Lord Taylor embodied the modern attitude to judicial review in his task as Chief Justice.

Democracy requires government to listen to those affected between elections

He showed this not only in his judgments, but in his attitude towards a greater openness and accountability of his own office – he was willing to meet the press and appear on television. His commitment to equality was expressed through his powerful statements in favour of the elimination of racial and sex discrimination

in the legal profession, in his willingness to abandon his wig and his injunction to fellow judges to be in touch with the public.

His opposition to minimum sentences to be imposed by fiat of the Home Secretary again raised a profound question of principle: whether justice can be imposed on the basis of a political formula, or whether it requires each individual case to be judged on its particular merits, so that the punishment might fit the particular crime.

The next Chief Justice may not have Lord Taylor's considerable qualities of character, nor his gifts of lucid prose. He or she is, however, unlikely to return to the days of unquestioned judicial deference to political authority. Thanks in no small part to Lord Taylor, our evolving constitution has moved well beyond that stage.

Jeffrey Jowell QC is professor of public law and vice provost at University College London and a barrister.

The earth now needs smarter friends

Successes of the past 25 years have been mere tactical victories in a long retreat for the environment, says Tom Burke

Friends of the Earth had an unlikely beginning in Britain. A quarter of a century ago, a soon-to-retire Scots businessman met an American corporate lawyer living in Paris while holidaying on an island off Ireland. The spark that became FoE was lit in the course of a long, cold night spent in fruitless watch for mating seals.

Truly transforming ideas are instantly transferable. They belong to no one. They do not support dogma or ideology; they mobilise action and choice and harness them to a broader, shared purpose. The idea that the earth needed friends was just such a transforming idea, compelling in its simplicity. No one who ever caught and held it for a moment was ever quite the same again. I certainly was not.

Approaching the end of the 20th century, it seems superfluous to argue that the earth needs friends. The reasons why are appallingly obvious. In the deserted lands around Chernobyl; the warning in too many cities on too many days that the air is not fit to breathe; in the growing legion of shoreline fishermen who left themselves too few fish to catch. Twenty five years ago, it was a different matter. Then it was a novel and much misunderstood idea.

It was also a very different world. There were more than a billion fewer people on the planet. Public awareness then about the environment was low. There were only a few tiny and largely ignored environmental organisations. Such public discussion of the environment was intermittently reported took place among a few renegade scientists and those Tony Benn later called "the brown bread and sandals brigade". The corporate world was a vast

pool of ignorance and indifference to the environment.

Today, there is a huge amount of national and international environmental legislation, much of it, sadly, more honoured in the breach than the observance. Throughout the world the many departments of the environment grow steadily in influence over other departments of government. There are thousands of environmental organisations with

The easy politics are now over and the hard politics about to begin

tens of millions of members and loud and increasingly listened-to voices – ask Shell. Public awareness about the environment has never been higher and environmentalists now wear suits, a phenomenon that was a never-ending source of wonder to the then Permanent Secretary when I joined the Department of the Environment as a special adviser in 1991.

Of course, Friends of the Earth did not accomplish all this on its own. It belongs to a tradition that has deep roots in Britain's intensely democratic culture. There have been other activists: Greenpeace for one, the Organisation Sustainable Development for another, that have also mobilised and focused change. Perhaps most important has been the influence of the unseen actors – throughout the world young daughters, whose influence on their businessmen fathers has proved to be immense, have done as much as anyone to roll back the indifference and ignorance of the corporate sector.



Friends in trees, friends in suits: the one-time 'brown bread brigade', lately protesting against the Newbury bypass (left) is largely transformed into the sophisticated activist embodied by Jonathan Porritt (right)

This is fortunate since the easy politics of the environment are now over and the hard politics about to begin. The easy politics have been largely about tackling threats that were readily apparent to most people. The cost of remedies, despite loud complaints from a few, has been small. Politically, the number of winners has far outnumbered the losers, making action possible if not always easy.

The hard politics will be very

different. They are about securing the productivity of the ecological base on which a surprisingly large proportion of our economic well-being still depends. The reasons for acting are often not at all obvious to most people and the cost of adjustment will be real and large and only exceeded by the cost of failing to adjust. In the short term, the number of losers will be as great, or greater than, the number of winners.

The brutal truth about the politics of the environment is that all the successes of the past quarter century have been no more than tactical victories in the long retreat for the environment in the face of insurmountable pressure from a rising population with rising income that it spends unwisely.

The agenda of the easy politics is very familiar: air and water quality; waste from contaminated land; endangered species, chemicals and radioac-

tivity. The successes in tackling these issues have been real, especially in the West, and they will continue. The new environmental agenda is unfamiliar: food security; fish stocks; water availability; forests; climate change; transport policy. These are the issues that will have to be tackled successfully in the next 25 years if our grandchildren are to inherit prospects as good as we do. Just how difficult this will be

is well illustrated by some recent events. The recent conversion of the US Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, to the environmental cause has been driven in a large part by his enforced understanding that there can be no lasting peace in the Middle East without an agreement among the warring parties about how to distribute the region's scarce water resources in the face of its burgeoning population.

There is no more dangerous drug in public debate than being right

This is a problem that will become more acute if climate change has the anticipated effect of making dry areas drier. In the past 12 months there have been more international conflicts over access to fish stocks than over any other matter. A pressure that last year brought Nato navies within a hair's breadth of shooting at each other. World grain prices have rocketed this year, undermining the small gains made recently in reducing the environmental impact of agriculture.

The choices that the hard politics of the environment force on us all will be no easier for the environmental organisations. They will require a more sophisticated political

approach than that on show during the dramatic simplicities of Greenpeace's campaign against Brent Spar. Their age of innocence is over as their agonising about application of VAT to domestic energy use so clearly demonstrated.

There are many more such dilemmas ahead. How, for instance, can we reconcile the popular support for cultural diversity relating to protection of the rainforests and their indigenous peoples, with the creation of global values and the education of women and management of population size?

There is no more dangerous drug for those involved in public debate than being right. Success all too easily breeds self-righteousness. Friends of the Earth has been right about the folly of relying on road building to solve our transport problems. It was also right to warn that nuclear reactors burnt money better than they burnt uranium. But it does not have a monopoly on wisdom.

As we face the more difficult choices of the future it will need to learn to co-operate as well as confront, to solve as well as to shout, while losing none of its dynamic aggression. The earth that needed its friends 25 years ago needs them even more today, but they need to be smarter, more confident, more mature and, above all, more committed than ever.

The writer, a former director of Friends of the Earth, is now a special adviser to John Gummer.

The savage truth behind the Cardinal's smile

A TV evangelist's attempt to woo English Catholics has brought a stern rebuke, writes Lucy Lethbridge

They could not have had any idea of the broadside they were about to receive. Catholic traditionalists gathered this weekend to hear the American TV evangelist Mother Angelica speak at a conference entitled "Faith of our Fathers". Mother Angelica, whose cable television station, the Eternal World TV Network reaches more than 43 million American homes gave a blistering performance in which she inveighed against what she called the "sick liberal Church".

With her resolutely conservative habit and wimple, her TV broadcasts of the saying of the rosary, her hard-line views on contraception, liturgy and sex education and her running battle with liberal US bishops, the 73-year-old nun has endeared herself to the Catholic right wing in Britain who see her brand of conservative evangelism as just the thing to halt what they regard as a liberal malaise which has sent the Church into decline since the reforms of the 1966 Second Vatican Council.

She did not disappoint them. "It was a very sick performance," according to Annabel Miller, assistant editor of the leading Catholic weekly, the *Tablet*, "though whether religious leaders should be sick performers is another question."

But the mistake the religious right made was in inviting Cardinal Basil Hume, the Primate of the Catholic Church in England and Wales. They had hoped that his acceptance would be interpreted by the wider community as endorsement. In the event he turned up on Saturday and delivered a reprimand which those who under-



Cardinal Hume: 'savage'

stand the coded vocabulary of English Catholicism yesterday were describing as "savage".

Among the organisers of the conference (at which the participants sang the Creed in Latin – a practice out of favour since Vatican II) were Ex Ecclesia et Pontifice, whose chairperson, Daphne McCleod, a former teacher, delivered a vituperative attack on the Church's modern teaching methods. There was, however, nothing coded about her language. Modern Catholic educationalists have been the particular target of the right wing, who see declining morals among the young to be a direct consequence of religious education, which is broadly humanist with just a sprinkling of religion on the top.

All this is but a pale echo of the sit-

uation in America where Mother Angelica – born Rita Rizzo in Ohio and called by *Time* magazine "probably the most influential Roman Catholic woman in America" – is one of the chief protagonists in what has become an all-out war between conservatives and modernists. What became obvious on Saturday was that Cardinal Hume feels that the time has come to nip in the bud the activities of those in England who would seek to import that civil war here. "Teachers and writers," he censured, "need our understanding, help and guidance and certainly not public condemnation."

The cardinal went on to criticise severely the violence of the language that has increasingly characterised Catholic right-wing rhetoric in recent times, particularly since the conversion to Catholicism of conservative Anglicans who have brought with them the open bickering and bitterness all too common in the Church of England and which has in the past horrified English Catholics whatever their ecclesiological disagreements.

"There is more to transmitting the faith to young people than the teaching of its truths," the cardinal said. "Young people can have adequate knowledge of their faith but still, alas, remain unmoved by and detached from its true meaning and significance. Minds and hearts have to be won."

And in what will be seen as a response to the right-wing practice of targeting individuals they believe to be promoting an unorthodox liberalism, Cardinal Hume admonished: "Proclaiming the truth, not only in word but also in the way we act, is generally more successful than the outright

condemnation of error. Our reactions to other persons ought always to be characterised by a willingness to show respect; to be careful not to damage another person's good name; to affirm what is good in another; never to be rude or insulting."

This all underscores the highly unusual step the cardinal had taken just before he attended the conference when he issued a statement in which he took pains to dissociate himself in advance from resolutions that were passed by the meeting. "It was quite by accident that I discovered only two days ago," he wrote, "that there might be resolutions put."

"The introduction of resolutions at a meeting such as this changes its nature. It becomes a campaign rather than a celebration of our faith. You will appreciate, I am sure, that I must dissociate myself from this aspect of today's gathering."

Among the resolutions passed by delegates, whose members included right-wing stalwarts such as the former Anglican vicar William Oddie, and writers Alice Thomas Ellis and Piers Paul Read, were that "every bishop shall himself examine the text books used in his schools for religious discussions" and that no lessons on sex should be given in primary schools.

Such a tactic is in line with a tendency by the ultra-conservatives to say they support the Pope against the liberal bishops. On this Cardinal Hume was firm in his rebuke: "Bishops, though under the authority of the Pope and appointed by him, are nonetheless not his delegates. In communion with him they share in respon-



Mother Angelica: slick

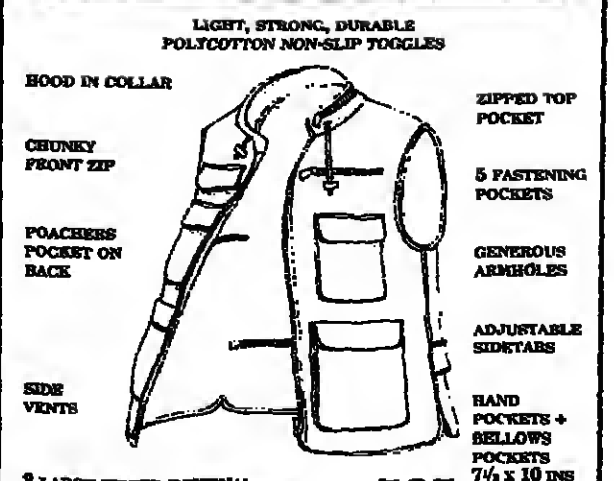
sibility not only for the dioceses in their care, but also for the whole Church. It is not possible to express loyalty to the church without including loyalty to one's own bishop."

Many of this ultramontane tendency – groups like Ex Ecclesia et Pontifice, the Latin Mass Society and the Association of Catholic Women – will doubtless feel that the cardinal's stern words will confirm that they are under attack by a treacherous liberal establishment. But most Catholics will be pleased at the cardinal's firmness and his demonstration that the mainstream Church will remain committed to the reforming spirit of dialogue begun 30 years ago with the Second Vatican Council and that the ultra-right will remain shrieking on the fringes.

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Tim Gullikson

As a player, he was only modestly successful. As a coach, he was highly regarded and considerably more accomplished. But the tennis community will mourn the death of Tim Gullikson above and beyond his professional pursuits because he was a man of uncommon decency.

Gullikson fought hard on the court to realise his own goals and took great pride in his ability to help others achieve their objectives. But all of that paled in comparison with the staunch character he revealed all across the globe. He was immensely admired in his field as a fellow who unfailingly displayed integrity, as a man who went about his business in a completely straightforward manner, refusing to cut corners or compromise his principles.

As a competitor, Gullikson was victorious in 17 tournaments back in 1977 and 1978, although he never had the distinction of becoming a member of the American top ten during his career. He did, however, come up with some very big wins on his best afternoons, most notably toppling John McEnroe at Wimbledon in 1979.

Gullikson was approaching the zenith of his talent that year and was seeded No 15 at the All England Club. He collided with the second-seeded McEnroe in the fourth round on the infamous Court 2, a location known to be unkind to many of the favourites over the years. In any case, Gullikson put his workmanlike serve-and-volley style to excellent use in dismantling the three-time future singles titleholder 6-4, 6-2, 6-4 to reach the quarter-finals, losing in the last tight to the formidable Roscoe Tanner.

Four years later, Gullikson

celebrated another remarkable moment at Wimbledon when he reached the 1983 doubles final on Centre court with his twin brother Tom, now the captain of the United States Davis Cup team. The brothers Gullikson were ousted in straight sets by the towering team of John McEnroe and countryman Peter Fleming. Nevertheless, it must have been some consolation to the Gulliksons that they upset the second seeded pair of Steve Denton and Kevin Curren in the semi-finals.

Gullikson's credentials in doubles surpassed his exploits on his own. Altogether, he appeared in no fewer than 29 finals in the 1970s and 1980s, winning 16 titles in the process. The Gullikson brothers were ranked in the US top ten for four consecutive years (1982-85), finishing No 4 for 1982 and 1983 and rising to No 3 in 1985. They were a solid and resourceful partnership with a strong strategic sense.

But by 1986 Gullikson had put his racket aside and moved into a new and suitable role as a coach. He became coach for the leading American players Aaron Krickstein and Mary Joe Fernandez. He guided Martina Navratilova through the 1988 season and restricted her game in some subtle yet significant ways. But his most rewarding coaching assignment came about in 1992 when he started working with the gifted but as yet unpolished Pete Sampras. The two Americans established an immediate rapport and Sampras responded exceedingly well to Gullikson's sound and appropriately simple advice.

As Gullikson once said of Sampras: "Pete is very coachable because he is a very logical guy with a very open

attitude, very much his own man but still very adaptable. He is the type of player that if you work on things six months past and he sees they have worked, six months later he will be doing those things again. We approach the game in a similar way so I don't make it more than it is because in reality it is not that complicated. He is willing to listen to people he feels make sense. It is working really well for both of us."

Gullikson was thoroughly delighted when Sampras elevated his game so dramatically during their time together. He helped Sampras to achieve the No 1 world ranking for the first time in April 1993 and was exhilarated as Sampras took over as the game's dominant player and established himself as one of the all-time greats. It seemed entirely possible that Gullikson would be Sampras's coach for a decade. They got along remarkably well. They both looked to the long term. They shared the same goals. But then in the autumn of 1994 it was apparent that something was going wrong with Gullikson's health.

That autumn Gullikson collapsed in his hotel room in Stockholm and was found bleeding on a coffee table by a colleague, who took him to hospital. It was erroneously assumed that he had fainted because he had recently started a strict diet and was therefore weak. But a few months later—in December 1994—Gullikson was taken to the hospital during the Grand Slam Cup in Munich and was believed to have suffered a minor stroke. He went home to Wheaton, Illinois, to rest and insiders assumed that he would take some time off and perhaps not make the journey with Sampras to

Melbourne for the 1995 Australian Open.

That surprisingly was not the case. Doctors gave Gullikson the green light to go to Australia. Once again, he became ill. Sampras sensed during a practice session that Gullikson "didn't look right" and he was sent to hospital. It was at that time that doctors realised just how serious Gullikson's condition was. Before Sampras confronted his countryman Jim Courier in the quarter-finals, Gullikson flew home to Illinois where it was determined soon afterwards that he had four cancerous brain tumours. When Sampras contested his match with Courier, he was down two sets to love and then rallied to reach a fifth set. Early in that final set, a fan screamed out to Sampras, "Win it for your coach, Pete." Sampras began sobbing into a towel at the next changeover and he continued to fight in vain to hold back the tears in his next service game. Somehow, he summoned the strength to win that match and despite losing in the final of that event to Andre Agassi, Sampras had triumphed in a much larger sense, registering on an emotional level with the public as he had never done before.

As Sampras later recalled of that emotional moment in the Courier match, "I just cracked at that stage. I had this mental picture of Tim lying in the hospital bed and I kind of broke down. . . Tim is a great guy, doesn't have a bad bone in his body and then he gets four brain tumours. It just showed me how vulnerable we all are to things like this. It put everything into perspective for me. . . I want to win every match I play but that is not the most important thing in life. Your health is what matters most."

Gullikson went through nu-

merous chemotherapy treatments in the next 17 months after Australia. Sampras dedicated his 1995 Wimbledon and US Open triumphs to Gullikson. And then in the last couple of months Gullikson's inner circle realised his health was worsening. He was losing the fight after a long and courageous battle. Sampras had two important commitments in April in Hong Kong and Tokyo, but he went to visit Gullikson both before and after those tournaments, knowing that his close friend might not be around much longer. Gullikson passed away last Friday afternoon. And what so few realised was that Sampras had lost much more than a coach; he had lost a cherished friend and a man he admired immensely.

As Sampras remembered a difficult stretch he went through during the early stages of 1995 as he tried to come to terms with the magnitude of Gullikson's situation, he reflected fondly on Gullikson's positive outlook and unshakable spirit. "I had lost in the first round of the French Open," Sampras said, "and I was down. I spoke to Tim and he encouraged me to go to London and get ready for Wimbledon with a good attitude. He told me to think about winning my third Wimbledon in a row. And I was talking to him about this while he was going through the toughest fight of his life, dealing with treatment and this and that. And here he was telling me to have a good attitude. There was a bit of irony in that."

Steve Flink

Tim Gullikson, tennis player and coach; born La Crosse, Wisconsin 8 September 1951; married Rosemary Ledvora (one son, one daughter); died Wheaton, Illinois 3 May 1996.



A strong strategic sense: Gullikson went on to coach Pete Sampras and other leading US players

Rodney Thomas

In another country, perhaps France or America, Rodney Thomas would have been better known, and properly honoured. Sadly, in Britain, his unique talents as a creative thinker, as a visionary and dreamer, above all as a research architect, have been largely ignored. The last exhibition devoted to his work was in 1967, and though it was widely praised at the time, since then his reputation has gradually faded, only kept alive by a devoted band of friends and admirers. It is to be hoped that the long-awaited publication of his memoirs will help to rekindle interest in one of the most versatile and inventive architectural minds of a generation.

Rodney Thomas was born in 1902 into a family of architects. His father, Ernest Montague Thomas, was soon to be appointed consulting architect to the government in Madras, and the family duly emigrated. Memories of Thomas's early years in India resurfaced towards the end of his life in colourful paintings of forests and birds of a jewel-like brilliance. When he came to the age to be formally educated, Rod was sent back to England where he did not shine academically. After the tragically early deaths of his parents, he was taken up by his architect uncle, Sir Brunswell Thomas, and sent to Eton. From there, as Rod called him, was a highly successful architect, already knighted for services to town halls (John Betjeman mock admired his Belfast City Hall), who kept a wonderfully eccentric salon in Albany. To this came a varied assortment of writers and musicians, among them Noël Coward, Ivor Novello and Marie Corelli.

Brum dissuaded Rod from becoming the painter he wished to be, maintaining—ironically in the circumstances—that architects stood a better chance of employment. Thomas was put to study architecture at London University, but spent more time drawing and painting at the Slade nearby. He also attended the Byam Shaw School of Art and the sculptor Leon Underwood's private school in Hammersmith, west London, where he met Henry Moore and the future Surreal-



Visionary and dreamer: Thomas's last great project was for a sky city

Photograph: Derrick Santini

ist Eileen Agar, who was to become a lifelong friend. In 1923 Thomas travelled with Underwood and the wood engraver Blair Hughes-Stanton to Iceland, an unusual trip for the period. Indeed Rod Thomas's pre-war activities were blithely diverse: he worked with his uncle and with the architects Giles Gilbert Scott, Louis de Soissons and Grey Wornum; he did interior decoration for Eileen Agar (all chic corvies: some of the studio and living area furniture is now in the V&A) and for the graphic designer Ashley Havinden; he worked for Crawford's Advertising Agency and the Southern Railway, and arranged the window displays for Simpsons in Piccadilly; he also designed exhibition displays and showrooms for Ascel Heaters.

Until 1939, Thomas had his own architectural and design

practice. After some hilarious episodes in the Home Guard, at the end of the Second World War Thomas helped to found the Arcon group, with Edric Neale, Raglan Squire (Sir Jack's son), and Jim Gear. This partnership was intended to cope with the massive demand for temporary housing: Thomas was the mastermind behind the Mark V prefabricated house, 40,000 of which were built—some of them still lived in and loved to this day.

The success of this project encouraged Thomas to set up a research unit to investigate the further possibilities of technical collaboration between architects and industry. ICI, United Steel and Taylor Woodrow were among the companies involved. Thomas ran a totally informal atelier in Seymour Walk, Chelsea, attended by artists such as Elisabeth Frink and Lynn Chadwick (who always

credits Thomas with inspiring his early mobiles), and young engineers and architects who worked on realising Thomas's ideas.

Plans for building and equipping overseas housing were drawn up for the ill-fated Ground-Nut Scheme in Tanganyika in 1949. The drawings for a town to be cut out of the jungle are beautiful, the furniture prototypes spare, elegant and practical. Typically the scheme foundered, but in the same year, 1951, Thomas saw his design for the Festival of Britain's Transport Pavilion erected on the South Bank to great acclaim. An ultra-modern building (Thomas admired Le Corbusier), its great sloping front wall of glass displayed aeroplanes hung from the ceiling and locomotives on the floor.

The work of Thomas's research team went on, investi-

gating the problems of joining prefabricated units. This may sound dull, but if you can successfully join standard units, no two of which are ever identical (like the bricklayer "equalising" his bricks with mortar), you've solved the basic problem of prefabrication. Thomas's real discoveries in this area never caught on.

Rod Thomas was a modest man, but he did not think modestly. His experience was wide and he drew inspiration from painting and from the natural world, and by bringing to bear his own brand of imaginative sympathy on today's environmental problems, he produced guidelines for a more integrated future.

His last great project was for a sky city, the ideas for which he developed from the 1950s onwards. His plan was to build upwards organically on the spiral, basing his designs on the way lupin blossoms are arranged around the flower's stem. The idea was to take the city up with you into the sky, in the shape of gardens and piazzas, and to dwell in perpetual sunlight. It was a dream, but a good dream, and sustained him through years of little architectural work, a lot of teaching and consistent drawing and painting.

Thomas helped his third wife, the poet Joan Thomas, to arrange poetry readings in a studio which had once been a part of Sir Thomas More's stable block. Such assorted furnishings as Laurie Lee and Edward Lucie-Smith came to read. Thomas continued to paint even when his sight was almost gone, devising new ways of drawing by touch and of differentiating colours. He lived a full life, and if many of his projects were unrealised (innovative designs for Coventry Cathedral, the Royal College of Arts and for a canopy over a reclining Buddha), he was undaunted, retaining till the end in the title words of his autobiography—*A Sense of Wonder*.

Andrew Lambirth

Rodney Meredith Thomas, painter and architect; born London 4 May 1902; married three times (two sons, one daughter); died London 26 April 1995.

Peter Miller

A life-long interest in natural history, combined with outstanding ability and a commitment to excellence, enabled Peter Miller to make impressive contributions to four fields of endeavour: zoological research, education, nature conservation and personal relationships. His research, for which he was recognised internationally, was distinguished by an unusual, exceptionally productive application of his talent for exploring connections between physiology, behaviour and ecology.

After completing his National Service in 1951 he attended Downing College, Cambridge, obtaining First Class Honours in Part One and Part Two Zoology of the Natural Sciences Tripos and being awarded the Frank Smart Prize for Zoology. During his PhD work that followed he held a Junior Research Fellowship at Downing College. From 1959 to 1962 he was a Lecturer in the Zoology Department of Makerere College, Kampala, Uganda (now Makerere University), thus establishing his strong and lasting affection for the tropics, subsequently manifest in visits to many countries, often with members of his family, visiting zoologists in universities and studying insects.

In 1962 Miller left Uganda to become Lecturer in Zoology at Oxford University, where from 1964 until his retirement in 1994 he was Fellow and Tutor at the Queen's College. At Oxford he soon became widely respected for the excellence of his research on insects, being awarded the prestigious Medal of the Zoological Society of London in 1972. Until the early 1980s he explored physiology and neural control, primarily of respiration but also of rhythmic and motor behaviour, ventilation and learning. His international standing at that time is reflected in the ac-

thorship of more than a dozen chapters on these topics in different definitive textbooks on insect physiology. During those years he also published on insect behaviour in the field and edited two symposium volumes on cell biology.

From the early 1980s Miller focused his research on dragonflies, a group of insects for which he had developed a strong affection while in Uganda. His highly developed skills—for interpreting subtle



Miller: Ugandan dragonflies

elements of behaviour, for micro-anatomical dissection and for quantifying neural processes—allowed him to reveal much of the structural and behavioural framework on which dragonfly reproduction is based. This work has far-reaching comparative value and provides a definitive reference point for future contributions to the field.

Other products of his interest in dragonflies have been his stimulation and training of postgraduate students, authorship of two editions of a book on British dragonflies—a model of the genre—and active participation in the British Dragonfly Society, as Vice President and as member of the Dragonfly Conservation Group. Increasingly in later years Miller's energies were directed

towards conservation of dragonflies and their habitats, especially through facilitating involvement of young people and non-specialists. Those who knew this will derive satisfaction from the knowledge that a memorial appeal will further the aims in education, research and conservation to which he was dedicated.

During retirement Miller had planned to spend several months each year working at Makerere University, teaching entomology and collecting material for a proposed book on dragonflies of Uganda. For this endeavour he had been awarded a Professorship of the Third World Academy of Science. It was while in Uganda in February that he was struck down by the illness that caused his death in Oxford a few weeks later.

Besides being a talented researcher and teacher, Peter Miller possessed other qualities that commanded respect and affection and that enhanced his effectiveness—as a critic, advocate and innovator. Though presenting ideas lucidly and persuasively, he was unfailingly courteous and gentle; and he exhibited charm and generosity of spirit.

Peter is survived by his widow Kate, also a biologist, a daughter and a son, to all of whom he was devoted and from whom he received consistent love and support. An abiding memory for friends who visited the family will be the warmth and stimulus of their hospitality.

Philip Corbet

Peter Miller, entomologist, conservationist; born Edinburgh 20 May 1931; Fellow, Queen's College, Oxford 1964-94; Dean of Graduates 1972-94; Scientific Medallist, Zoological Society of London 1972-77; married 1959 Kate Palmer (one son, one daughter); died Oxford 24 March 1996.

David M. Kennedy, banker and politician, died Salt Lake City, Utah 1 May, aged 90. US Treasury Secretary 1968-70 under President Richard Nixon, his tenure was marked by eco-

nomic problems and Wall Street controversy. Chairman, Continental Illinois National Bank and Trust, from 1959. Jack Weston, actor, died New York 3 May, aged 71. Played

character roles in films including *Wait Until Dark* (1967, with Audrey Hepburn), *Cactus Flower* (1969), *Please Don't Eat the Daisies* (1960) and *The Thomas Crown Affair* (1968).

Changing of the Guard

The Household Cavalry Mounted Regiment mounts the Queen's Life Guard at Horse Guards, 11am: 1st Battalion Irish Guards mounts the Queen's Guard, at Buckingham Palace, 11.30am, band provided by the Grenadier Guards.

Announcements for Gazette BIRTHS, MARRIAGES & DEATHS (Births, Adoptions, Marriages, Deaths, Memorials services, Wedding anniversaries, in Memoriam) should be sent in writing to the Gazette Editor, The Independent, 1 Canada Square, Canary Wharf, London E14 5DL, telephoned to 0171-293 2011 or faxed to 0171-293 2010, and are charged at £6.50 a line (VAT extra). OTHER Gazette announcements must be submitted in writing (or faxed) and are charged at £10 a line. VAT extra. They should be accompanied by a daytime telephone number.

Birthdays

Sir John Arnold, former High Court judge, 81; General Sir Jeremy Black, former Master-General of the Ordnance, 57; Mr Tony Blair MP, Leader of the Opposition, 43; Miss Susan Brown, actress, 50; Professor Rosemary Cramp, archaeologist, 67; Miss Joanna Dugham, actress, 50; Sir Frank Ebeart, former Balliol of Jersey, 77; Mr Robert Fell, former chief executive, Stock Exchange, 75; Miss Alessandra Ferri, ballerina, 33; Mr Neil Foster, cricketer, 34; Major Gen John Hamilton-Jones, consultant, Cyclic Defence Systems, 70; Mr John Henderson, former Lord-Lieutenant of Berkshire, 76; Mr Charles Hendry MP, 37; Mr John Hutton MP, 41; Vice-Admiral Sir Hugh Marriott, 84; Mr Freddy Randall, jazz trumpeter, 75; Mr Alan Ross, author and publisher, 74;

The Right Rev John Taylor, former Bishop of St Albans, 67; Mr Norman Whiteside, footballer, 31.

Anniversaries

Birther Frans Francken the Younger, painter, 1581; Lorenzo Lippi (Perone Zilipi), poet and painter, 1606; André Massena, duc de Rivoli, Prince d'Essling, French marshal and soldier, 1758; Maximilien-François Marie-Isidore de Robespierre, French revolutionary, 1758; Karl Christian Friedrich Krause, philosopher, 1781; Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst, violinist and composer, 1814; Sigmund Freud, neurologist and psychoanalyst, 1856; Robert Edwin Peary, Arctic explorer, 1856; Luis Maria Drago, statesman, 1859; William Edmund, first Baron Ironside, soldier, 1880; Stanley Arthur Morrison, typographer,

1889; Rudolph Valentino (Rodolph Alphonse Rastalle Pierre), film star, 1895; Max Ophüls (Maximilian Oppenheimer), film director, 1902; Harry Martinson, author, poet and playwright, 1904; Stewart Granger (James Labrecque Stewart), actor, 1913; George Orson Welles, actor, director and writer, 1915; Deaths: Juan Luis Vives (Ludovic Vives), philosopher, 1540; Robert Bruce Cotton, antiquary, 1631; Cornelius Van Til, theologian, 1638; Frans Francken the Younger, painter, 1642; Sir William Hamilton, metaphysician, 1856; Friedrich Heinrich Alexander, Baron von Humboldt, explorer and scientist, 1859; Henry David Thoreau, poet and essayist, 1862; Louis-Marie de la Haye, Vicomte de Commeny, jurist, 1868; Franz von Lenbach, portrait painter, 1904; Edward VII, King,

1910; Lyman Frank Baum, author of *The Wizard of Oz*, 1919; Count Maurice-Polycare Made-Barraud Maeterlinck, poet and playwright, 1949; Maria Montessori, physician and educationist, 1952; Wilfrid Hyde White, actor, 1991; Marlene Dietrich (Maria Magdalena Dietrich), actress, 1932; Ivy Benson, singer, 1933; Ann Todd, actress, 1933. On this day: King Henry VIII ordered that the Bible should be placed in every English church, 1536; the island of Manhattan was bought from the Indians by the Dutch settler, Peter Minuit, for trinkets worth about 25¢, 1624; the first postage stamp, the Penny Black, was issued, 1840; the Union army was routed by the Confederates under General Robert E. Lee at the Battle of Chancellorsville, Virginia, 1863; Lord Frederick Cavendish and Thomas Henry Burke were assassinated by the Fenian

"Invincibles" in Phoenix Park, Dublin, 1882; Epping Forest was dedicated by Queen Victoria for the perpetual use of the people, 1882; conductors on the London General Omnibus Company in London went on strike over a new ticket-issuing system, 1891; King George V acceded to the throne, 1910; the German Zeppelin *Hindenburg* crashed and was destroyed by fire at Lakehurst, New Jersey, 1937; Josef Stalin became leader of the government of the Soviet Union, 1941; Corregidor surrendered to the Japanese, 1942; Roger Bannister was the first to run a mile in under four minutes, 1954; Princess Margaret married Antony Armstrong-Jones in Westminster Abbey, 1960; Spain closed the border between Gibraltar and Spain to all but Spaniards, 1968; *The Guller Player*, a painting by Jan Vermeer worth over £1m, was found in a Lee-

Dinners

Women's Transport Service (FANY) A Mess Dinner of the Women's Transport Service (First Aid Nursing Yeomanry) was held yesterday evening in the Officers' Mess, Longmoor. Corps Commander Mrs Anna Whitehead presided.

Appointments

The Prince of Wales, to be Royal Patron of Actionaid. Mr Denzil Austin Lush, to be Master of the Court of Protection.

Mr Henry Hodge, to be a member of the Legal Aid Board, serving as deputy chairman.

Mr Roger Andre Verne, to be Deputy Secretary of Commissions.

Mr S. Michael D. Brown, to be a member of the Council on Tribunals.

Mr Albert Paul Powell, to be a district judge, on the North Eastern Circuit.

Mr John Neiligan and Mr Richard Price, to be circuit judges, on the Western Circuit.

Mr David David McEvoy QC, to be a circuit judge, on the Midland and Oxford Circuit.

Mr Kevin Edward Barnett, to be a circuit judge, on the Wales and Chester Circuit.

BSkyB confirms negotiations with Virgin

MAGNUS GRIMOND

Rupert Murdoch's BSkyB satellite television group yesterday confirmed that it had held talks about launching a cable and satellite channel with Virgin, the airline to financial services conglomerate controlled by Richard Branson.

Virgin has employed Jeremy Fox, a high-profile mainstream broadcaster, to pursue the discussions, which indicate that Mr Branson continues to harbour ambitions to move into television broadcasting despite the

failure of his £22m bid to run Britain's fifth television channel last year.

The two entrepreneurs are not unknown to each other. Virgin Radio, which represents Mr Branson's only current broadcasting licence, is available to BSkyB subscribers across Europe as one of several radio stations broadcast via the group's satellite audio channels.

A spokesman for BSkyB said yesterday: "We talk to a number of parties in the course of our business and, yes, we have had discussions with Virgin." He

added that it was fair to say the talks were at an early stage. He refused to confirm a report that the negotiations, said to have been initiated by BSkyB, involved plans for a channel appealing to a young, upmarket adult audience, with an emphasis on entertainment, travel and humour.

Virgin's media representative, Will Whitehorn, said there had been some tentative discussions between the two sides, but described them as "protozoan" at this stage. "We have retained Jeremy Fox to research

the future viability of being in the television business as a broadcaster, instead of being just a programme-maker and facilities manager as we are at present. He has had tentative discussions with several individual players who have approached him, but things have not gone any further at this stage."

BSkyB seems to have singled out Virgin as a suitable partner after research on brand names revealed that the Virgin name elicits a favourable response from potential subscribers. Vir-

gin has also clearly demonstrated its interest in extending its broadcasting activities. As well as Virgin Radio, the group owns 50 per cent of Rapido Television, an independent programme producer whose output, like Channel 4's *Eurotrash*, is geared towards the youth market. It also owns Rush and West One Television, said to be the UK's biggest post-production companies.

But Mr Branson's hopes of becoming a fully-fledged television broadcaster were dashed by his failure last October to be

picked to run the new Channel 5 franchise. Despite submitting exactly the same £22m offer as the winning bidder, Greg Dyke's Channel 5 Broadcasting, his Virgin Television was turned down by the Independent Television Commission. In January, Virgin and two other unsuccessful bidders failed again when the High Court threw out the Commission's ruling. The three had claimed that the commission had acted unfairly and unlawfully in awarding the licence to Channel 5 Broad-

ing after the company had increased the guaranteed funding of its business plan by £100m. BSkyB was also an unsuccessful bidder in the Channel 5 licensing round. But its domination of European cable and satellite makes it, in effect, gatekeeper to the industry, giving it an extremely strong bargaining position. The deal said to have been offered to Mr Branson was for BSkyB to provide access to its five million subscribers for any joint venture, in exchange for which Virgin would provide financing and take a stake.



Richard Branson: TV hopes have been dashed once

Tom Stevenson reports on a brew-it-yourself success story



Hopping on the bandwagon: Toby Mynott in his state-of-the-art brewery in Canterbury

Photograph: Edward Sykes

If ever a business idea deserved to succeed, the Great Stour Brewery in Canterbury is it. Open barely a month, it is surely the only place in the country where you can play master brewer for the day, fill your car-boot with top-quality beer at a fraction of bar prices and, quite legally, stick two fingers up at the taxman.

Thus far into its short business life, Great Stour is also a great advertisement for "business angels" - wealthy individuals who are willing to put their money at risk backing fledgling enterprises.

Within two months of deciding to tap the business angel market, Great Stour had raised over £100,000 in seed capital. Its ambitions are already running to the possibility of a market quote and national expansion.

The dream of Toby Mynott, an appropriately Falstaffian marketing man, Great Stour is based on a generous Customs and Excise loophole, which means you pay duty only on beer someone else brews for you. Do it yourself, even in a commercially-run brewery such as this, and the inspector turns a blind eye. All you have to do is promise you're over 18, use the beer for your own consumption and say you won't sell it to anyone.

But make no mistake, Great Stour is no jumped-up home brew operation. Mr Mynott has sunk £200,000 into building a state-of-the-art brewery in the middle of Canterbury.

Great Stour is no different from the newest Bass or Guinness operation except in scale - each brew produces about 100

'Angels' back the pint that sinks taxman

pints and current capacity is limited to 20 of these a day.

It's all fairly idiot-proof and a great deal of fun. Having become a member of the brewery (£6.50 for a trial three months) you pick one of 14 different beers, all using local Kentish hops and ranging from a light bitter (40p a pint for members) to a no-nonsense, 6.6 per cent strong seasonal ale (63p a pint).

Having decided on your tipple you follow the recipe, weigh out the hops and barley, brew it up and cask it. It's less than two hours' work on your first visit. A week later you return to bottle, label and take it home.

One of the things that makes Great Stour special is an in-house design service, which allows you to take advantage of a pause in the brewing process to sit down at a computer and design your own label. You can scan in photos and make a thoroughly professional-looking, personalised product that matches the high quality of the brew it contains.

And therein lies the business potential that attracted six venture capitalists to back Mr Mynott within days of a pre-

sensation he made under the auspices of *Venture Capital Report*, an Oxford-based publication that brings together ideas such as Great Stour together with the business angels with the capital to get them off the ground.

Mr Mynott's backers were attracted by the potential for Great Stour to tap the corporate entertainment market. They agreed there could hardly be a better promotional tool than a unique drink, customised for a company, service or event.

For businesses that can't be bothered to do the brewing, Great Stour even has an arrangement with a local micro-brewery to produce a duty-payable version.

The business, which also has a shop and place for a museum of brewing, rolled out its first barrels at the beginning of April and already claims to have received encouraging interest from France, Germany and Holland from groups wanting to arrange weekend brewing tours.

A deal with P&O or Sally Lines is a possibility, helped by Great Stour's location in a tourist city that attracts 2.5 million visitors a year, and the com-

pany is proud of its small part in putting the so-called booze cruises into reverse.

It is early days yet, and Mr Mynott is still at the stage of working seven days a week to ensure the £65,000 he has put into the business does not go the eventual way of his beer. But further out, there is plainly great scope for franchised operations around the country and a listing on the Alternative Investment Market is being considered.

Great Stour's success in raising the £200,000 it needed to spend before a single pint was brewed showed that for the right idea, funds are available.

Having made a presentation to potential investors on a Friday last November, Mr Mynott was already lurching one interested "angel" the following Tuesday and banking a cheque for £60,000 within a few weeks. Four months later he was open for business.

To have his company profiled in *Venture Capital Report* he paid £350 and another £100 to present his business plan to investors a month later. The VCR route produced six investors, who provided £104,250 towards Great Stour's start-up costs, not a bad return on a relatively small investment in money, time and effort.

Since it was set up in 1978, VCR has brought thousands of investors and entrepreneurs together. Typically, 15-25 per cent of the companies it features raise funds from its subscribers.

The Great Stour Brewery Tel: 01227 763579; *Venture Capital Report* Tel: 01865 784412

Bank of England seeks backing for international company rescues

PETER RODGERS

The Bank of England plans to seek the help of large overseas banks in developing new procedures for mounting international rescues of companies in difficulty.

At a conference later this month the Bank will sound out banks from Europe, Japan and the US on whether they will back an extension of the informal "London rules" to the international arena.

The London rules were put forward at the beginning of the decade by the Bank to cope with the growing number of corporate collapses caused by the last UK recession, ranging from Brent Walker to Queen's Most Houses and the Canary Wharf office development.

Unlike earlier recessions, many of the stricken companies had a large number of bank

lenders with conflicting interests, which made it immensely difficult to reach agreement on restructuring without central bank co-ordination. Where companies operate in several countries, the problem of mounting rescues has proved still more difficult.

The Bank expects the number of complex cross-border rescues to increase over the next few years. The plan for the conference in London follows an informal canvassing of opinion by the Bank among large foreign commercial banks to see if they are receptive to the idea.

Under the London rules, the Bank of England acted as broker, intermediary and forum for the resolution of conflicts in negotiations, and so far has been involved in 160 corporate rescues. The Bank believes that the London rules have led to a new informal "rescue culture"

among London banks that has saved a great deal of money by avoiding expensive insolvency procedures.

The Bank also tackled issues such as the emergence of the secondary market in corporate debt, which made it harder to agree rescues because it dispersed ownership of the debt. It is now looking at new problems posed for rescues by the rapid growth of bond finance as a replacement for bank debt in company balance sheets and this will be on the agenda of the conference.

The Bank's new proposal, taking advantage of a hull in the corporate rescue case load in the UK, is aimed at persuading influential foreign banks to adopt principles similar to the London rules. Any new rescue network is likely to be set up among commercial banks, with central banks, including the

Bank of England, taking no more than a background role.

The conference is expected to be attended by about 140 bankers, including representatives of Deutsche Bank, Citibank, GE Capital, Bankers Trust and NatWest, as well as insolvency specialists from firms such as Price Waterhouse, lawyers and academics. It will be chaired by Pen Kent, an executive director of the Bank.

One body likely to be influential in the development of a new international approach is called the Insolv Lenders Group, an offshoot of Insol, a grouping of insolvency specialists. The group was set up to involve bankers in the work of Insol.

Cross-border rescues are faced with wide variations in insolvency law. In many countries the cost and time involved in formal insolvency procedures is prohibitive.

NatWest warning is blow to Railtrack

MAGNUS GRIMOND

The Government faces new embarrassment over the controversial Railtrack privatisation following weekend revelations that NatWest, one of the share shops involved in the sale, is recommending that certain wealthy clients should shun the issue.

NatWest confirmed yesterday that it had advised risk-averse clients with portfolios valued at over £70,000 to think twice

about buying into Railtrack, given that a Labour government could hit the value of the shares.

The news will come as a blow to the Government, given the boost which the backing of even a small part of NatWest's 6.5 million customer base would give to the flotation, valued at between £1.75bn and £1.95bn by last week's indicative price range of between 340p and 380p a share.

It will also bolster Labour's campaign to divert potential in-

vestors away from the issue, which has so far beaten expectations by attracting over 1.9 million people to register their interest through share shops.

The NatWest warning came in a letter sent out last week to selected customers of NatWest Investments, which includes the bank's retail stockbroking arm. A spokesman for the bank stressed yesterday that it was a specific recommendation to people who are known to be long-term investors or who are

particularly cautious in their investment policy.

"Given the political uncertainty surrounding the Railtrack offer, our letter advised these customers of the potentially attractive short-term returns, as well as the risks inherent in them. Our general view is that the offer is likely to be realistically priced and could go well. The dividends payable in the early years are attractive to investors, accepting that there are political risks."

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Interested parties may apply to be considered for the selected list of tenders for one or all of these services.

Applicants will be required to complete a questionnaire to be returned by 30 June 1996.

The contract will commence on 1 April 1997 for a 3 year term with an option to extend for a maximum contract term of 5 years.

Criteria for the evaluation of tenders will be outlined in the invitation to tender to be issued in January 1996.

A specification will be available to view from 7th May 1996.

To obtain a copy of the questionnaire please contact Ms S. Marshall Tel: (01223) 317658 Fax: (01223) 318177.

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No let-up in biotech bonanza

MAGNUS GRIMOND

The bonanza in fledgling biotechnology companies showed no sign of letting up last week, as two more announced flotation plans and a third saw its shares return from suspension.

This rush to market has been largely inspired by the extraordinary rise of British Biotech, undisputed king of the sector, which, with its shares now just a whisker short of £30, is valued at over £1.7bn. Ahead of expected good news on its Macintosh anti-cancer drug later this month, the whole sector has outperformed the rest of the stock market for several weeks.

The sort of valuations being attached to such companies have always been questionable, given the general absence of profits and the lack of any marketable product. But the risks increase as more come to market and the rich pickings available to shareholders and

directors from a flotation blind investors to concerns about the quality of what is on offer.

Certainly, even by the gravity-defying standards of the current frenzy, PPL Therapeutics has more hope built into its expected valuation than most.

The company, which grew out of a government research institute near Edinburgh, had caught the headlines long before last week's announcement that it was seeking a stock market flotation in early June. Its technology, using genetically altered sheep to produce milk containing pharmaceutical proteins, has raised ethical questions.

So far none of its products is even in clinical trials. The best near-term prospect is Alpha-1-Antitrypsin for use against cystic fibrosis. Tests could start by the end of the year, with the product not expected to be on the market until the year 2001. PPL's brokers, NatWest Securities, have issued projections

"for illustrative purposes only" showing ultimate sales of £2.5bn and profits of £440m following the launch of 11 of its key products stretching out as far as 2008, but even they admit these estimates are "highly speculative".

SkyePharma, the former marquee hire company Black & Edgerton, has more than quintupled in size following the completion of a deal worth up to £305m to take over Jago, a private Swiss drugs company. Jago has developed novel drug delivery technologies which it is claimed can reduce the dosage required of a particular drug or increase its ability to target a particular area of the body.

The main asset behind SkyePharma is Ian Gowrie-Smith, its executive chairman and the man behind the phenomenal initial success of Medeva, another drugs group. His reputation was tarnished after Medeva fell foul of the US Food and Drug Administra-

tion. Clearly SkyePharma represents his way of proving himself, but with the company valued at £274m after the shares' return from suspension at 79p he has a lot to live up to.

Arguably a safer bet is Vanguard Medica, which will be valued at £111m by its placing this week at 450p a share. The strategy is to pick up promising drugs currently in development at larger groups which their current owners regard as too small or unrelated to their main area of expertise. The expensive process of discovering new drugs itself is therefore obviated, while the risk is further reduced by involving partners to develop and possibly market any successful products.

The risks remain however and any true value in the sector could take years to emerge. In the meantime, a serious setback for one of the larger groups could bring the whole edifice crashing down.

SCIENCE

Edited by
Tom Wilkie

Wave away the material world

A single molecule can be shown to exist in two places at once, according to new experiments in quantum mechanics. Could the same be true of living creatures? **Andrew Watson** reports

We live in a world of comforting solidity in which everything has its place and nothing can be in two places at once. Yet a series of experiments carried out in France, Russia, and the US last year is undermining our perceptions of the way the world is. Some things can indeed be in two places at once – possibly even living creatures – and the reassuring solidity of our material world appears to be illusory.

Matter, the rigid "stuff" we see all around us, isn't really hard little pellets all stuck together but is mostly waves and empty space. It certainly seems as if matter is pretty hard stuff. For instance, salt crystals are so hard that it takes a grinder to reduce chunky ones to a more palatable size. Salt is an assembly of sodium and chlorine atoms. As such it is reasonably typical of the way atoms stick together, the building blocks of bulk material.

But sodium atoms can do some fancy things, according to David Pritchard of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in the United States. In his laboratory at MIT, Professor Pritchard sent a beam of sodium atoms towards a thin foil, just a few millionths of a metre thick and placed edge-on. The beam split into two and passed on opposite sides of the foil. But when a detector at the far end started to register the atoms coming through, it showed a remarkable banded pattern, "bright" bands where many atoms were detected separated by "dark" bands where few were arrived.

The pattern is distinctive and well known: it is an interference pattern, the signature not of solid particles but of ethereal waves. The pattern arises typically with "real" waves such as water waves and sound. The crests of two waves reinforce each other to give bright patches, while crests of one wave cancel out troughs in the other to give no waves, resulting in dark patches. The inescapable conclusion is that sodium atoms behave like waves.

That is surprising enough, but what is really difficult to comprehend is that "each atom interferes only with itself", according to Professor Pritchard. He explained that each incoming sodium atom was spaced about a metre apart from the others,

so that there was little chance of two atoms overlapping.

In other words, a single atom passed both sides of the foil simultaneously. What emerged then recombined to give an interference pattern. Each atom passed on both sides of an impenetrable barrier. The same thing would happen with lots of spaced sheets of foil, or equivalently a barrier with slits cut in it. It's as though when confronted by a row of supermarket check-outs a shopper passes through all of them at once. It's that bizarre.

This is the quantum nature of our universe revealed. And the reason it happens is that

It's as though when confronted by a row of supermarket check-outs a shopper passes through all of them at once

nature is like that: there is no deeper explanation. "Objects really propagate according to a wave-like equation that agrees with classical predictions only if you do not look carefully enough," said Professor Pritchard. "Your intuitive notion that the atom has to have a location at all times is incorrect."

The first MIT sodium atom interference experiment was reported in 1991. In the same journal issue appeared details of a similar experiment by Oliver Carnal and Jürgen Mynek at the University of Konstanz in Germany using helium. Scientists were pleased but not surprised: they had expected it, based on earlier work with tiny fundamental "particles" that also displayed wave-like properties. But early in 1995, Professor Pritchard's group went one step further, showing that molecules of two sodium atoms also show wave-like properties.

"Our experiments have shown that even 'large' objects like molecules behave like waves," said Professor Pritchard. Christian Bordé and his collaborators at the Université Paris-Nord in France have shown

interference effects in experiments using iodine molecules, and a Russian group has done similar experiments with even heavier molecules such as osmium tetrofluoride.

How big can we go? "This is clearly an underlying theme of our research; to push quantum mechanics and the observation of quantum effects toward macroscopic objects. It's just a question of developing gentle techniques as far as I can see," said Professor Pritchard.

Recently they have published results on an experiment so difficult the great American physicist Richard Feynman proposed it only as a "thought" experiment, one that demonstrates a principle but which is too hard to do in practice.

What Professor Pritchard's group has done is to watch for sodium atoms as they emerge from above or below the foil divider, using single particles of light called photons. When they do this, they find that the results show each atom suddenly spoils the game by going above or below the divider, and the interference vanishes. Atoms no longer behave like waves.

If quantum mechanics is correct it had to be this way. Quantum mechanics says that as soon as the experimenter has a way of determining where an atom or some other particle has gone, then the wave-like aspect vanishes. In terms of the quantum supermarket, the reality of having to pay a cashier means that the shopper is effectively tracked, and a quantum shopper wouldn't show wave-like behaviour after all.

So there is a limit to how strange the quantum world is. "We showed that shining a single photon of light on a system will destroy its quantum interference," he said. "We also showed that quantum coherence is easier to destroy in bigger systems. Thus suggestions that quantum coherence explains ESP or other strange correlations over large distances fly in the face of our results."

Quantum mechanics as a way of explaining ESP may be dead, but Professor Pritchard has done a simple calculation that should make philosophers sit up and take notice. Imagine if a living organism could show wave-like properties. Then passing it both sides of a thin foil to give an interference pattern would mean that in some sense this living organism is in two places at once.

"I calculated that we could see interference of large bacteria if we could let them spend about a year in our interferometer, and could keep it from vibrating during this time," said Professor Pritchard. There is a catch, however: "Unfortunately they wouldn't really be living – we would have to cool them almost to absolute zero to keep the heat photons they radiate spontaneously from messing up the interference pattern." So philosophers are safe – for the moment.



On the record: the new technique can reveal the exact amount a coral grew in one day

Russell Sack/News Team

Beautiful spies in the sea

The bleached, bone-white skeletons of coral washed up on the beach and sold in tourist shops could be marine diaries, a history of the sea stretching back for thousands of years, a tale of pollution, climate changes, volcanic eruptions, even the El Niño effect. Like trees, corals lay down annual rings in light and dark bands which can be read as if they are the pages of a book. Now Dr Henrietta Lidiard, from the University of Bradford, and her colleagues are pioneering a new technique which may enable them to read daily detail as well as the yearly entries in this journal.

Corals are mostly dead. Living tissue is found only on the tips of what is in fact a skeleton. The skeleton is composed of calcium carbonate, but coral also incorporates other chemicals into this structure so that each layer of "bone" is actually a signature of the sea at that particular moment.

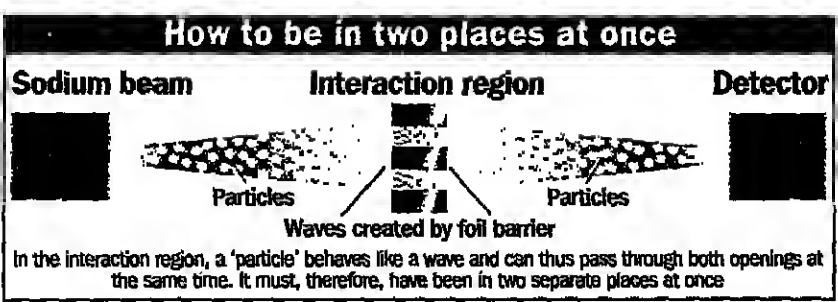
Corals are extremely sensitive to any changes in light, temperature and salinity. Just as cold weather causes trees to lay down narrow annual rings, corals, if

amount a coral grew in a day by examining the skeleton under a microscope and vaporising a tiny sample with an ultra-violet laser. The particles of coral in the resulting aerosol are then analysed to see what kind of chemicals have been used to help build the coral's skeleton on that particular day.

This new technique may also help prove – or disprove – a new theory on how coral grows. Dr David Barnes, from the Australian Institute of Marine Science, has shown that a coral skeleton is a lattice made up of horizontal buttresses and vertical rods and that these vertical rods may be growing both up and out at the same time. Dr Lidiard describes a rod as if it were a pencil. "As the tip of the pencil extends, it also thickens all the way down." So cutting these rods lengthways will allow the team to analyse a complete set of the daily growth rings for the coral.

Dr Lidiard's techniques could one day be used to enable coral to act as spies in the sea to provide evidence of pollution, for example, when chemical companies evade the law.

Up to now, coral analysis could only provide an estimate of "when events happened. Looking at annual rings is like taking the average figure for pollution or climate change in a year. "If you want bulk measurement, it's OK," says Dr Lidiard. The technique she is developing in collaboration with the British Geological Survey involves pinpointing the exact

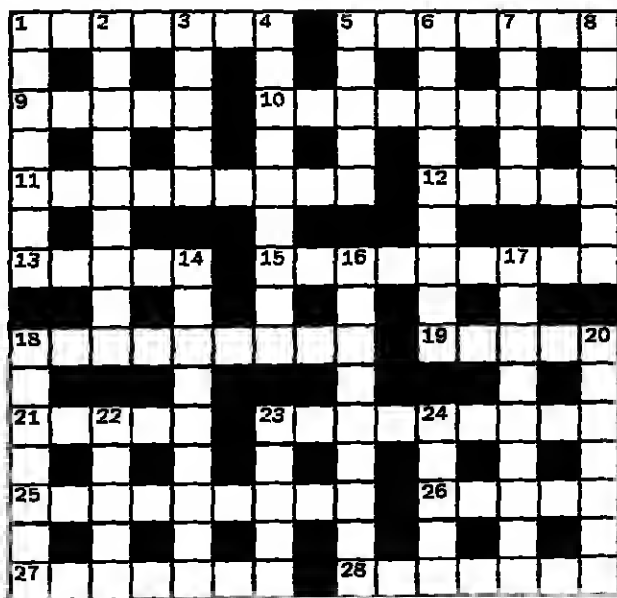


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By Porcia



ACROSS
1 Hound academic body (7)
5 One hundred join in amorous advance on love-artist (7)
9 Ne'er-do-well who's taken in hand? (5)
10 Cloth put over fine antique panelling (5-4)
11 Hidden meaning conveyed through vocal expressions (9)
12 Sounds like a female seed-uck (5)

DOWN
13 Take over left nothing invested in company (5)
15 Sick to some extent without being seriously ill (2,1,3,3)
18 Girl bursting in at three (9)
19 Seat hack main work by Greek writer (5)
21 Have an easy ride with Australian in charge (5)
23 Switched his parcel round (9)
25 Billy who takes the blame? (9)

26 Maintain that shellfish contains iodine (5)
27 Beat going right behind house (7)
28 Stop operating monitor (5,5)

DOWN
1 Manage to pretend (4,3)
2 Outlook? (5,4)
3 Slow in diner tonight (5)
4 Force a lasting split with Spanish fascist (9)
5 Backs European currency (5)
6 A new romance developed in Ireland (9)
7 Pole's solemn promise to deliver weapon (5)
8 The German's held by international airport attendant (7)
14 No use being blunt (9)
16 Can't be bothered about moving (9)
17 Knowing excellent joke (9)
18 Copes with a pointed tool (7)
20 Attract staff by supplying rail transport (7)
22 On the other hand accepted benefit (5)
23 Mean to follow second animal track (5)
24 Wish to undo chain caught in ruffle (5)

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